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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

CONTENTS

PAGE

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, by Benjamin West..*Frontispiece*
William Penn's Manor of Pennsbury: architect's drawing
Illustration facing page 66
The Hicksite Meeting House at Fallsington } *Illustrations facing page* 67
The Orthodox Meeting House at Fallsington }
The Spring Meeting of Friends' Historical Association, 1941..... 67
Two Notes on Whittier's "To ——"
THOMAS FRANKLIN CURRIER and DONALD E. EMERSON 69
The Quakers as Social Workers among Negroes in New Jersey from 1763 to 1804.....MARION THOMPSON WRIGHT 79
Book Reviews 88
Quaker Archives in Pennsylvania..... 92
Briefer Notices .....HENRY J. CADBURY 93
Articles in Quaker Periodicals.....THOMAS E. DRAKE 97
Benjamin West's Painting of Penn's Treaty with the Indians
ELLEN STARR BRINTON 99
Portrait of Benjamin West by Gabriel Stuart..*Illustration facing page* 100
The House in which Benjamin West was born..*Illustration facing page* 101
The West Family Group, by Benjamin West..*Illustration facing page* 108
Portrait of Benjamin West by Sir Thomas Lawrence
Illustration facing page 109
Broadside: The Proposals of John Boydell, Engraver in Cheapside
Illustration facing page 118
The Boydell-Hall Plate of West's Painting } *Illustrations facing page* 119
The Hallmark on the Boydell-Hall Plate }
Reproductions of West's Painting of William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (for list see page 167).....*32 Illustrations* 168-189

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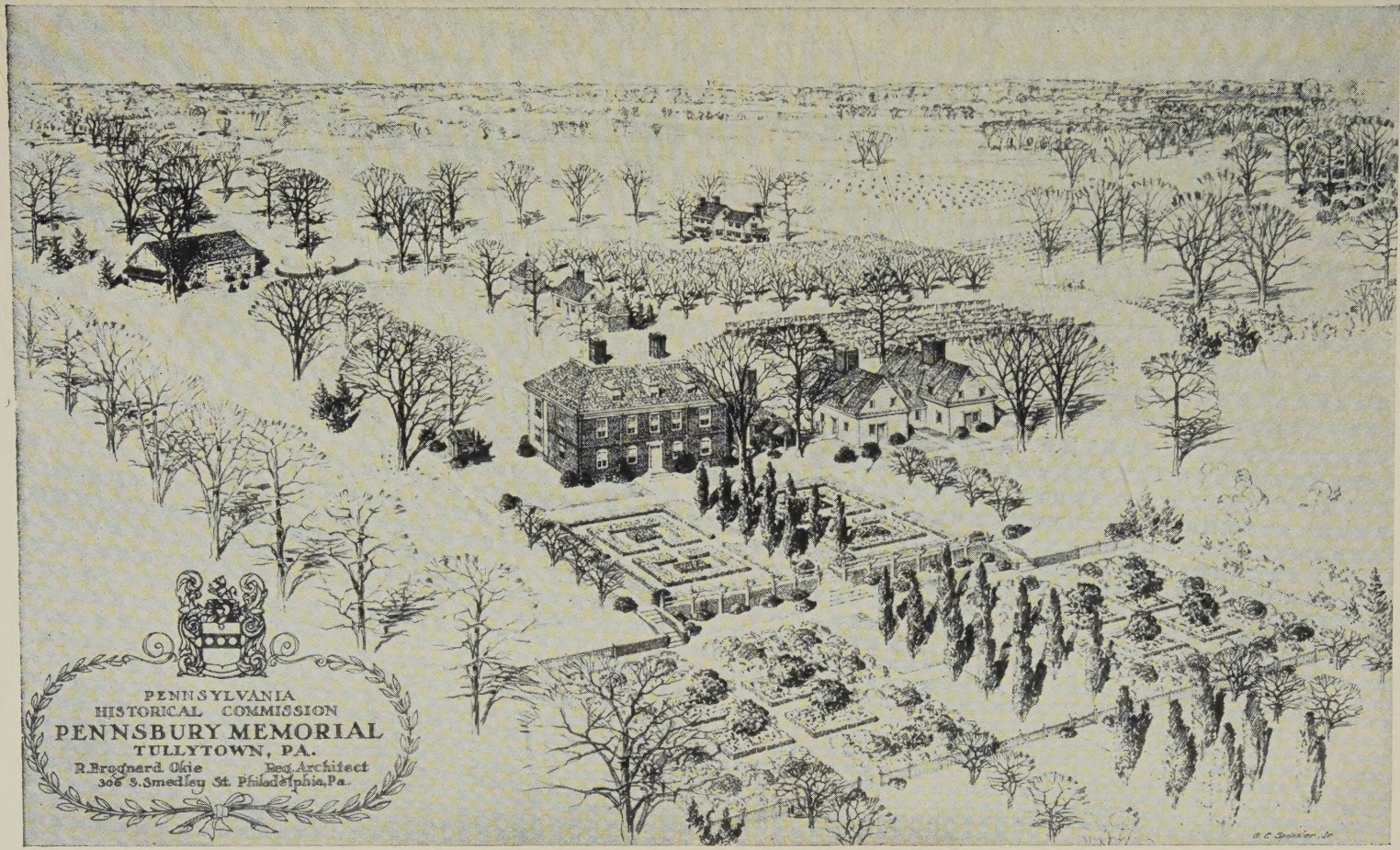
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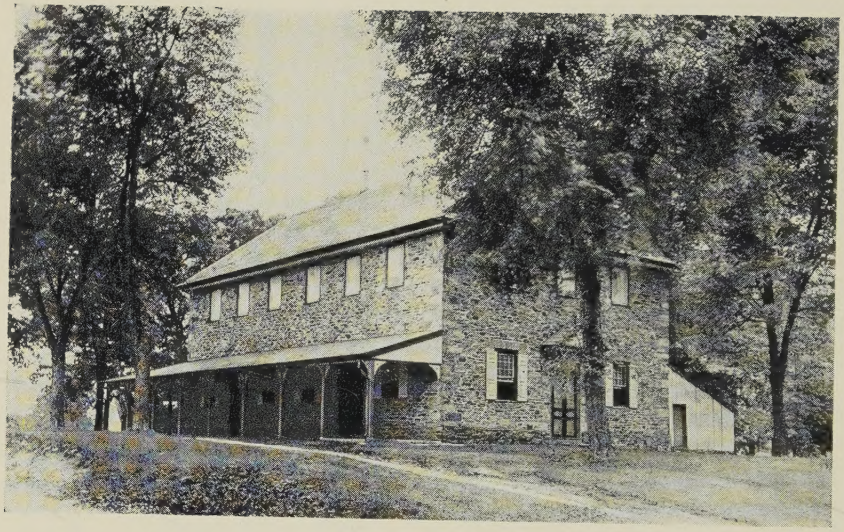

The Hicksite Meeting House at Fallsington
Built in 1789

The Orthodox Meeting House at Fallsington
Built in 1841

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Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

1941 SPRING MEETING FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE SPRING MEETING of Friends' Historical Association was held at Pennsbury and Fallsington, Pennsylvania, on May 17, 1941. A large number of members and their friends assembled at three o'clock at "William Penn's Manor of Pennsbury," fronting the Delaware about four miles below Trenton, and enjoyed a tour of the reconstructed house conducted by Mr. T. Russell Stackhouse, Superintendent of Pennsbury Memorial. The manor house has only recently been completed, and many of the visitors had never seen it; and though the building is not fully furnished, and the planting of the grounds is hardly begun, the project is far enough advanced to form an impressive monument to the zeal and skill of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, under whose care the restoration has been carried out.

After an hour of pleasant visiting and inspecting, those present adjourned to Fallsington Meeting House, about five miles away, for the meeting proper. President William W. Comfort welcomed members and guests, and introduced Charles Henry Moon, who read a paper on "The Romance of Pennsbury." He outlined briefly the conditions in Europe which induced Penn's followers to seek for better things in a new world, and the religious and political troubles which followed the first peaceful years. He then read the well-known vision of Joseph Hoag of the year 1803, which many have taken as a prophecy of the various separations in the Society of Friends, and of the Civil War. In similar vein he read a part of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall:*

> For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
> Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be—

leading up to the lines:

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

He closed with a few all too brief references to episodes in the checkered 250 or more years of the history of Fallsington itself, suggesting times of comedy, tragedy, and steady unobtrusive working for the right. This subject was too interesting to leave, and Jane Moon Snipes was called upon to give a few of the salient facts in the history of the meeting houses.

After the meeting, the company partook of a box supper, enjoying the many opportunities for reunion and pleasant companionship which these meetings always afford. For once, the weather was disappointing: a threat of rain, and a few actual drops, prevented the gathering from spreading over the beautiful grounds for supper.

WHEN the new stack wing of the Haverford College Library was dedicated on Saturday, April 19, 1941, President Felix Morley announced that work had begun on a still newer addition to the Library, a treasure room designed to house the Quaker Collection. A gift by Morris E. Leeds, Chairman of the Board of Managers of the College, will make possible the complete remodeling of the old stack building for this purpose. According to the plans drawn up by E. Nelson Edwards, architect, of the Class of 1910, there will be an alcoved reading room lined with bookcases, and a gallery. Small rooms at the east end of the building will provide work space and a Curator's office; and there will also be a stack room.

Upon the completion of the remodeling, which will take some three or four months, the Quaker manuscripts and the Charles Roberts Autograph Collection, now in Roberts Hall, will be transferred to the new wing, and the Quaker books in the old library will be moved into this fireproof addition. The William H. Jenks Collection of seventeenth-century Quaker tracts, which is the heart of the Quaker Collection, will be placed in locked display cases in the reading room. To these early records of Quakerism will be added the Rufus M. Jones Collection of books on mysticism, a gift to the Haverford College Library which was also announced by President Morley on April 19.

TWO NOTES ON WHITTIER'S "TO——"

I

WHITTIER'S "TO —— WITH A COPY OF WOOLMAN'S *JOURNAL*"

By Thomas Franklin Currier

Note.—The first part of Mr. Currier's article was written without knowledge of the following article, by Mr. Emerson.—Ed.

THE MAIDEN of the "fair brown tresses" to whom Whittier addressed his poem "To —— with a Copy of Woolman's Journal" has not yet been identified with certainty. Mr. Mordell, on page 190 of his *Quaker Militant,* follows Marie V. Denervaud (page 8 of her *Whittier's Unknown Romance*) in asking us to believe that the person in question lived in the West. The West, however, may no longer claim her. She, like the famous milestone, could say, "I'm from Boston." Whittier's handwriting is indeed exasperating at times, and it is no wonder that, in this instance, Miss Denervaud misread a very cryptic "Boston," and interpreted it as "Western." A careful scrutiny of the original leaves no doubt as to the correct reading of the word, which clearly is "Boston." The passage in Whittier's letter to Elizabeth Lloyd reads thus:

> William . . . will probably show thee a little piece of mine, which I have copied for him. I wish to state that it was not written for publication, but solely for the person to whom it was addressed—a Boston young lady of much intelligence, a disciple of the Transcendental School. I accompanied it with a copy of J. Woolman.

This letter is dated simply "Second Day Morning," without month or year; it is folded in the manner customary before envelopes came into general use, and is addressed, "Elizabeth Lloyd, jr. By W. J. Allinson." Allinson is thus revealed as the "William," mentioned in the letter just quoted, to whom Whittier entrusted the copy of his Woolman poem. This is the Allinson who was an intimate friend of the Whittiers, and who served as editor of the *Friends' Review* of Philadelphia from 1867 until 1872. Several unpublished letters preserved in the Pickard-

Whittier papers, in Harvard College Library, refer to this visit of Allinson's in Amesbury, in August 1842, and there is no question but that Whittier's "Second Day Morning" letter was written in great haste (attest the hurried handwriting) on Monday morning, August 22, 1842, two days after his letter of August 20, printed on pages 6, 7, and 8 of Miss Denervaud's book. The earlier letter, like the other, is folded and addressed to Elizabeth Lloyd, "By W. J. Allinson," who took it with him to Philadelphia and delivered it to Miss Lloyd.

If the reference to "a little piece" in the "Second Day Morning" letter does not sufficiently identify it as the Woolman poem, we confirm the identification from other letters; for, on August 26, immediately after arriving home, Allinson wrote a long letter to Whittier describing his journey back and relating how he invited Elizabeth Lloyd and her friend Elisabeth Nicholson to call at his home to receive the letters he had brought. He writes, "If thou could have seen E. L.'s eyes glow and glisten as she heard 'What the Quaker said to the Transcendentalist' thou wouldst have tho't the fire thereof applicable to better purposes than lighting cigars. Every shade & tho't in that poem was appreciated." The title thus quoted in Allinson's letter is precisely the title used in extant early manuscript copies of the Woolman poem. Unfortunately there is nothing in the Allinson letters to tell us how long a period had elapsed between the time when the poem was originally written and the Amesbury visit in the month of August 1842, nor do we receive any clue to the name of the person to whom the poem was addressed.

A chance perusal of the original manuscript of the "Second Day Morning" letter had brought, at first, suspicion, and then certainty as to the correct reading of the word which was interpreted by Miss Denervaud as "Western." The new reading, "Boston," is, moreover, further substantiated by a passage contained in a letter (Pickard-Whittier papers) by another Boston young woman, Ida Russell, who, on January 20, 1846, wrote as follows to Elizabeth Whittier:

> I also saw for the first time yesterday your friend H. Winslow & liked her very much indeed but must confess that I saw nothing ideal or fairy-like about her but full of warm right feeling. I thought of your

brother's poem to her & thought the description in the first verse better poetry than portraiture, as her eyes were open & pleasant & not dreamy & her hair smoothed in Quaker straight lines. The general impression made on me was of a very substantial person certainly in body & apparently in character. I felt acquainted with her in two minutes. Mrs. Sewall gave me your note. . . .

A reference to the first stanza of the Woolman poem will make it clear that Miss Russell unquestionably had this poem in mind when she identified the person addressed therein as Harriet Winslow. The stanza is as follows:

> Maiden! with the fair brown tresses
> Shading o'er thy dreamy eye,
> Floating on thy thoughtful forehead
> Cloud wreaths of its sky.

Ida Russell was an alert young woman, well acquainted with Bostonians and with members of the antislavery circle there. She was particularly intimate with the Whittiers, as is shown by the many letters from her to Elizabeth contained in the Pickard-Whittier papers. She was the daughter of Hon. Jonathan Russell, at one time United States minister to Sweden, and signer of the treaty of Ghent. Surely she must have had good reason for mentioning Miss Winslow as the young woman to whom Whittier's poem was addressed, and an early annotation, discovered in a copy of the 1849 edition of Whittier's poems, bears out Miss Russell's statement, for in this volume the name "Harriet Winslow" is penciled, in an unidentified contemporary hand, against the poem in question. This volume is now in the Whittier collection of Mr. Carroll A. Wilson of New York.

That Whittier numbered Miss Winslow among the transcendentalists, and could thus appropriately give to his poem the title "What the Quaker said to the Transcendentalist," is shown by a letter which he wrote to Elizabeth Lloyd, April 11, 1842, in which he describes Miss Winslow as "a girl of fine mind, somewhat of the transcendental order, although still a member of our Society." She was the daughter of Nathan Winslow, of Portland, Maine. Her sister, Louisa Maria, the wife of Samuel E. Sewall, died in 1850. To quote from page 118 of Nina Moore Tiffany's *Samuel E. Sewall: A Memoir* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898):

Harriet, whose life was the longest, became most widely known. She was early married to Charles List, a staunch abolitionist, whose death occurred not many years after that of Mrs. Sewall. In the desolation of Mr. Sewall's life and the loneliness of her own, the relation between them, always cordial, deepened, and in 1857 culminated in their marriage. From that time onward his is never again a solitary figure. Actively associated as she was with all his interests, philanthropic, as well as personal, she was ever at his side, and those who best remember him in the later years instinctively picture him to themselves in companionship with her.

An objection to Miss Russell's identification of Miss Winslow as the person for whom the poem was written exists in the fact that the Winslows were originally Portland people, and Whittier more than once refers to them as such. Since however Harriet must have been a frequent visitor at the home of her sister Louisa, then the wife of Sewall, who was a prominent Boston lawyer, may it not be that Whittier reckoned her as one of his Boston friends?

AND NOW comes a curious coincidence. The above memorandum had been written out, in somewhat shorter form, and was on the point of being sent for publication when an interesting letter came from Mr. Donald E. Emerson, of Johns Hopkins University, informing me that he had discovered the missing lady to whom Whittier addressed the long Woolman poem. Unfortunately, his was not the same lady as the one whose claims the present writer had presented. A final word on the mystery seems impossible in the light of our present knowledge; but since Whittier more than once used one and the same set of verses for different occasions, and frequently, when his autograph was requested, copied out lines from one of his own poems, often altering the wording to suit the situation, it seems altogether likely that he pursued the same course in the present instance. In fact it is pertinent, at this point, to mention an autograph of Whittier's which was called to the writer's attention some three years ago, which bore the date "Salem, 9th mo. 2nd, 1846." This autograph has the title "To ——," and consists of three stanzas from this same Woolman poem, to which is prefixed a fresh, introductory stanza. Thus we find Whittier

making use of this poem in connection with at least two different persons, and probably with three.

The pedigree of the Neagus-Hildreth presentation volume, described by Mr. Emerson, would seem to be perfect, and, judging from a photostat, the handwriting of the text of the poem, written on the flyleaf, and of the date, is Whittier's, although the unusual signature "J. Greenleaf Whittier," has unquestionably been added by another hand. Which then of the two ladies, Miss Neagus or Miss Winslow, can claim priority?

Whittier's copy of his poem, which he sent to Miss Lloyd by the hand of his friend Allinson, was unquestionably borrowed by their mutual friend, Elisabeth Nicholson, and at once transcribed into her famous copybook of Whittier's poems, now preserved in the Haverford College Library. It bears there the date "8 mo/42"; but we must remember that this may be the date of the copy and not necessarily of the original. The Nicholson text agrees very closely with another copy, written in an unrecognized hand, now preserved in the Huntington Library. These two copies embrace the whole long poem, except that the present twenty-seventh stanza is omitted,[1] as it is also in the Neagus autograph. The Neagus autograph differs, however, from the other two manuscripts in that it omits four stanzas, found only in the Nicholson and Huntington manuscripts, where they are inserted before the present twenty-eighth stanza. These we should normally expect to find in the Neagus autograph, which begins with the present twenty-fourth stanza. This omission and the fact that Whittier very wisely excluded these four stanzas when the poem was printed for the first time in his *Lays of My Home,* 1843, together form an argument that the Neagus

[1] It is worthy of note that this stanza beginning with the words "And without, with tireless vigor," and rather necessary to complete the sense, is omitted from all three manuscript copies, the Neagus, Nicholson, and Huntington, but is included in the *Lays* of 1843. Perhaps this is the omission to which Allinson refers in an unpublished letter to Whittier, written September 5, 1842, and now in the Essex Institute, in Salem. Allinson writes:

I was strongly minded to have thy lines to the Maiden published but doubted whether thou wd be willing as they were not written for publication. I believe thou left out something between verses 43 & 44 & as thou wast nearly asleep at the time I doubt the wisdom of the omission.

version is later than the other manuscripts. A scrutiny of the text shows that all three of these versions must be earlier than Whittier's first recorded printing of the poem, in 1843, in his *Lays of My Home, and other Poems.*

The question still remains: Why, if Whittier sent the poem to Miss Neagus without the initial twenty-three stanzas, and added them later, should he send the entire poem to Miss Lloyd with the word that it was a copy of a poem "written . . . for a Boston young lady"? One possibility is that after sending the whole poem to Miss Winslow, he transcribed a portion of it on the flyleaf of a copy of Woolman, and sent it, with signature lacking, to Miss Neagus, Whittier's name being later written in so as to preserve the interesting information as to the author of the poem. It may be that Whittier's sentence in the "Second Day morning" letter, "I accompanied it [the poem] with a copy of J. Woolman," implies a separate sheet containing the long poem, rather than a flyleaf autograph shortened, perhaps, to fit the available space.

Harvard University

II

WHITTIER, WOOLMAN'S *JOURNAL,* AND CAROLINE NEAGUS

By Donald E. Emerson

A BLANK in the title of a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier can now be filled with a name. And the poet can be connected with another feminine acquaintance.

In the library of Mrs. Arthur Hildredth[1] is a copy of the *Journal* of the itinerant Quaker, John Woolman, published in 1840, which belonged to her mother-in-law, Caroline Neagus Hildreth (Mrs. Richard Hildreth). On the flyleaf of this book is written, in the handwriting of John Greenleaf Whittier, the following poem, dated "Boston 14th 4th mo 1842." To Whittier's

[1] For the substance of this note I am indebted to Mrs. Hildreth, who has kindly given me much aid in my historiographical pursuit of Richard Hildreth, American historian and journalist.

followers, these lines are already familiar as the last part of his poem "To ——, with a copy of Woolman's Journal." [2] The words in italics are those which differ from those of the version printed in the Cambridge edition of Whittier's poems. Differences of punctuation are not shown.

TO CAROLINE NEAGUS

WITH A COPY OF WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL

Not to *dreams of* aimless quiet
Should the heart's devotion tend,
But to *works* of Love and duty,
As our being's end.

Not to idle *frames* and trances
Length*ened* face and solemn tone,
But to Faith, in daily striving
And performance shown.

Earnest toil, and strong endeavor
Of a spirit which within
Wrestles with familiar evil
And besetting sin.

[Here a stanza is omitted which is included in the printed version.]

In a light like this, how lovely
Is the track of Woolman's feet!
And his brief and *humble* record
How serenely sweet!

O'er Life's *simplest* duties throwing
Light the earthling never knew,
Freshening all its dark waste places
As with Hermon's dew!

That which glows in Pascal's pages—
All *that* sainted Guion sought,
And the blue-eyed German Rahel
Half-unconscious taught:

[2] See *The Complete Works of John Greenleaf Whittier,* Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin (The Cambridge edition), p. 171, or *The Writings of John Greenleaf Whittier,* Boston and New York (the Riverside edition), iv, 16-22; see also Thomas Franklin Currier, *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier,* Cambridge 1937, p. 358.

Beauty such as Goethe pictures—
Such as *shines in Richter's lay,*
Shed its living warmth and brightness
Round that poor man's *way.*

Not a vain and cold Ideal—
Not a Poet's dream alone,
But a presence *quick* and real,
Seen and felt and known.

When the red right hand of slaughter
Moulders with the steel it swung,
When the name of *sage* and poet
Dies *from* Memory's tongue,

All bright thoughts and pure shall gather
Round that meek and suffering one—
Glorious—like the Seer-seen Angel
Standing in the sun!

Ponder with a thoughtful spirit
What *his record saith* to thee—
Blessed as the hand of healing
May its lesson be.

If it only serves to strengthen
Yearnings for a higher good—
For the fount of living waters
And diviner food,

If the pride of Human Reason
Feels its meek and still rebuke,
Quailing like the eye of Peter
From the Just One's look,

If with *cheerful heart* thou heedest
What the Inward Teacher saith,
Listening with a willing spirit,
And a child-like faith.

Thou may'st live to *thank* the giver
Who himself but *poor* and weak,
Would at least the highest welfare
Of *all others* seek.

Take the gift—though poor and lowly
It may seem to *worldly* eyes,
It may prove an Angel holy
In a Pilgrim's guise!

Hitherto the only identification of the person to whom the poem was dedicated has been this passage in a letter from Whittier to his Philadelphia friend Elizabeth Lloyd:

> William [Allinson] . . . will probably show thee a little piece of mine, which I have copied for him. I wish to state that it was not written for publication, but solely for the person to whom it was addressed—a Boston young lady of much intelligence, a disciple of the Transcendental School. I accompanied it with a copy of J. Woolman.[3]

This surely refers to Mrs. Hildreth's copy of Woolman's *Journal,* with its flyleaf poem. And in addition Caroline Neagus fulfills the requirements of the description. Obviously a highly intelligent young woman, she was in Boston in 1942, and there are indications that she had Transcendentalist leanings.

A devoted young friend wrote of her as follows:

> In describing Miss Neagus, I called her superb; and the word was used intentionally. She never lost this distinguishing mark of her personality, and during those early years in Boston spent with her art, this superb beauty took on a deep seriousness. Her full brown eyes fixed themselves on a face and seemed to draw forth all its beauty and all its meaning. Her figure was majestic and while her features could not be called regular, they were noble. Her mouth was firm rather than mobile, but very sweet and serene in its habitual expression. Her complexion was creamy in its fairness, slightly freckled, and her abundant hair was of the richest auburn. She was not a conversationalist by nature. Her utterances were slow, well pondered like the touch on her ivory, and haste was something unknown to her.[4]

---

[3] See Albert Mordell, *Quaker Militant, John Greenleaf Whittier,* Boston and New York, 1933, p. 190; *Whittier's Unknown Romance,* Letters to Elisabeth Lloyd, with an introduction by Marie V. Denervaud, Boston and New York, 1922, p. 8.

In Miss Denervaud's publication, which Mr. Mordell follows, "Boston" is read "Western" and the phrase about the Transcendentalist disciple is omitted. I am indebted to Mr. T. Franklin Currier, who has collated the original letter, for these emendations—as well as for the knowledge of the letter.

[4] *Reminiscences of Richard and Caroline Neagus Hildreth.* MS in the possession of Mrs. Arthur Hildreth. Unless indicated to the contrary, this is the source of information about Caroline Neagus.

This attractive description further confirms the identification of Miss Neagus, for it fits the picture drawn by Whittier in the opening stanza of "To ——, with a copy of Woolman's Journal":

Maiden! with the fair brown tresses
Shading o'er thy dreamy eye,
Floating on thy thoughtful forehead
Cloud wreaths of its sky.

So it would certainly seem that Caroline Neagus is the Boston young lady, the recipient of Woolman's *Journal,* referred to in the letter to Elisabeth Lloyd. And it follows that Whittier's "To ——, with a copy of Woolman's Journal" was written for Miss Neagus.

While the flyleaf poem identifies the "maiden with the fair brown tresses," it leaves a question. The poem presented here differs in many respects from the published version. There are differences of words and lines (which have been indicated by italics in the above copy), and an additional stanza [5] appears between the third and fourth stanzas of the version here. Finally, in the published poem, twenty-three stanzas precede those given here. In general, this group seems to refer to the maiden to whom the poem is dedicated, while the section here concerns the message of Woolman's *Journal.* Why Whittier did not send to Miss Neagus the lines inspired by her must remain a mystery.

She to whom Whittier dedicated his poem is herself an interesting figure—the artist friend of the Vermont sculptor Hiram Powers, in whose studio she worked,[6] and the painter in miniature of Ralph Waldo Emerson,[7] among others. Her household was a center for the younger artists in Boston, Joseph Ames, Thomas Ball, and her nephew George Fuller among them.[8] But she is better known as the wife of Richard Hildreth, American

[5] There are four additional stanzas in the Huntington manuscript. These do not appear in the published version, however.

[6] According to Mrs. Arthur Hildreth.

[7] See *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* edited by Ralph Leslie Rusk, 6 volumes, New York 1939, iii, 255, 256, 257, 264, 270, 272, 275, 371, 438; iv, 298, 306, 308, 309, 313, 417, 420.

[8] *George Fuller, His Life and Works,* Boston and New York, 1886, pp. 1, 21, 69.

historian and journalist. Two years after receiving Whittier's gift Caroline Neagus married that other literary figure, then best known as a journalist and opponent of slavery—the author of the first antislavery novel. The effect of this last was such that when Miss Neagus asked the advice of a judicious friend as to the wisdom of accepting Mr. Hildreth, she received the reply, "The author of Archy Moore must be a good man." Thus the object of Whittier's dedication married the novelist whose name stands in American historiography as the author of an important six-volume history of the United States.

The Johns Hopkins University

THE QUAKERS AS SOCIAL WORKERS AMONG NEGROES IN NEW JERSEY FROM 1763 TO 1804

By Marion Thompson Wright

VARIOUS RELIGIOUS SECTS interested themselves in the lives of the early Negroes of New Jersey. For the most part these groups were concerned with the spiritual preparation of these "heathens" for a future world rather than with their social uplift in the world in which they then moved. Consequently, so long as they could work for the spiritual freedom of these sons of Africa, they made few efforts to seek their physical release from the bondage which prevented their living the lives of free persons on earth. But Quakers, from the year 1688, initiated movements designed to enable these Negroes to live as men among men. Bearing in mind the revelations of an "inner light" which admonished them to do unto others as they would be done by, the members of this sect sought not only spiritual salvation but physical and social emancipation for their darker brothers. In view of their efforts not only to assist Negroes to gain their freedom from slavery but to aid them to effect optimum adjustments in their social relationships, the Quakers were in a true sense *social workers* among Negroes in New Jersey.

While engaged in the task of promoting the abolition of the traffic in human souls, Friends not only concerned themselves with the spiritual welfare and the mental enlightenment of the slaves and freedmen but, as mentioned above, attempted also to render aid in their temporal affairs. The story of their emancipational [1] and educational [2] efforts has already been told. We shall, therefore, consider the activities of Friends in respect to the social and economic well-being of the Negroes in New Jersey up to 1804, when the efforts of the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, under Quaker leadership, were consummated in the passage of the law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in this State. The Quakers endeavored not only to prepare the slaves for a constructive enjoyment of the liberty which was yet to come, but also to smooth the paths of the freedmen as they assumed responsibility for the management of their own lives. Let us consider, then, the social-work activities of these Quakers through two agencies: first, their superior and subordinate meetings; and second, the abolitionist societies initiated by them.

Activities of Superior and Subordinate Meetings

IT WAS MANY YEARS before the movement to abolish the importing, buying, and selling of Negroes [3] gained the momentum essential to effective action. Slowly the crusade got under way, until the influence of Anthony Benezet and John Woolman assured its final success. Just after the turn of the second half of the eighteenth century, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting

[1] Thomas E. Drake, *Northern Quakers and Slavery* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1933).

[2] Thomas Woody, *Quaker Education in the Colony and State of New Jersey,* Philadelphia 1923; Marion M. Thompson Wright, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey,* New York 1941.

[3] For the story of this movement see William A. Cooper, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends towards Slavery," *Camden County Historical Society,* vol. i, no. 6, Jan. 15, 1929; Thomas E. Drake, *op. cit.;* Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism,* Philadelphia 1860; Allen C. Thomas, "The Attitude of Society of Friends toward Slavery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, Particularly in Relation to its own Members," in *American Society of Church History,* vol. viii (1897), pp. 263-299.

directed its attack not only against the buying and selling of human beings, but also toward the release of those already in a state of servitude. This body also urged its members to "excite the masters . . . to give them sufficient instruction and learning in order to qualify them for the enjoyment of the liberty intended, and that they be instructed by themselves [the masters] or placed out to such masters and mistresses who will be careful of their religious education, to serve for such time, and no longer than is prescribed by law and custom for white people.[4] Four years later, in 1778, this body urged Friends to "advise them on all occasions particularly in promoting their instruction in principles of the Christian religion and the pious education of their children, as well as to advise them in respect to worldly concerns." [5] The superior meeting requested the subordinate meetings to appoint "Friends of judgment and experience . . . for this necessary service." [6] The minutes of subsequent yearly meetings reveal the continued concern of Friends in the spiritual, intellectual, and *social* well-being of the darker race.

Tracts and minutes of local meetings in New Jersey show in what manner the recommendations of the superior body were followed. For example, in 1763, when William Boen encountered difficulty in arranging for his marriage in accordance with Quaker custom, John Woolman "had a number of persons convened at a Friend's house, where they were married after the manner of our Society, and a certificate to that effect, furnished by those present." [7]

Interesting indeed is the case of James McCarty, which claimed the attention of the Shrewsbury Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings over a period of at least fourteen years. George Williams had bequeathed to his mulatto slave, James McCarty, his freedom. The freedman had, in turn, made the son of the deceased man his trustee. James McCarty acquired some estate, then died intestate, leaving a half sister with several children in slavery. The trustee asked the

[4] MS Minutes Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1774, p. 272.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1778, p. 273. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 404.

[7] *Memorial of Mount Holly Monthly Meeting of Friends Concerning William Boen, a Coloured Man,* Philadelphia 1831, p. 4.

advice of the Monthly Meeting concerning the disposition of this estate. The Monthly Meeting in turn referred the case to the Quarterly Meeting.[8] For five years the case dragged on, during which time the Yearly Meeting recommended that the estate, valued at 489 pounds, 19 shillings, nine pence halfpenny, New Jersey currency at the rate of 8 shillings per ounce, be used to purchase the freedom of James McCarty's mother, sister, and sister's children and to provide the indemnity required by law.[9] In 1774, the Monthly Meeting finally reported the consummation of the purchase of the ex-slave's relatives from their several owners, except two of them who had been put out "to suitable places in order to be properly brot up and educated with intent when they arrive to mature age to be set free." [10]

Nine years later, 1783, the case again appears in the records when Minor, a niece of James McCarty, was through misunderstanding sold into slavery for life.[11] A committee appointed by the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings went into Virginia where the girl had been taken, effected her release, and secured wages for the time she had served "since coming of age." [12]

A minute of the East Branch Preparative Meeting discloses another situation in which Friends assisted in the adjustment of the economic affairs of a Negro. The report says that a meeting was "held in the meeting house called Robin's on the 16th day of the 12th Month 1801," at which time the last will and testament "of a certain Black man named Mingo," dated the 22nd of 11th month, 1788, was presented to the meeting by one of the members.

> The meeting then proceeded to take said will under their consideration and therefore do find that the said testator hath firmly by said will aforesaid given granted and vested full power and absolute authority to said meeting to execute his the said Mingo's last will and testament and after deliberation the meeting appointed a committee to proceed therein to the full completing of their appointment under the direction of said meeting when necessary.[13]

[8] Minutes of Shrewsbury Quarterly Meeting, 24/iv/69 (24th of Fourth month, 1769, Old Style).

[9] *Ibid.*, 27/x/70.

[10] *Ibid.*, 25/iv/74.

[11] *Ibid.*, 27/x/83.

[12] Minutes Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, 15/ix/85.

[13] Minutes East Branch Preparative Meeting, 16/xii/1801.

A minute of Burlington Quarterly Meeting reported that two Friends having each manumitted a Negro had expressed the desire

> . . . to make a proper allowance for the time they were continued in their service after they came of age. After divers times deliberating thereon, Friends to whose care such cases had been referred advised that the sums should be ascertained by indifferent persons, and one of the Negroes being deceased, that the sum adjudged due in that case should be divided and paid to the next of kin, as in cases of intestate estates; which advice the Friends readily accepted and have taken measures to carry into effect.[14]

Abner Woolman appearing at a Haddonfield Monthly Meeting

> . . . informed friends that his wife's father's estate at his decease had several Negroes, one of them (a man) was given to his wife which they could not be free to receive and had given him his liberty but judging said father's estate was increased by said Negroes labour requested a committee might be appointed to value their labour over and above the expense of bringing them up. His proportion of which he proposes to give for the use of said Negroes.[15]

The following month the committee reported that

> . . . they met, and adjudged that his father in law's estate was bettered by the labour of his two Negro men to the amount of £56, and as the said Abner receives one third of his said father's estate, he agrees to give one third of said sum to said Negroes in proportion to their labour to one named Anthony the sum of £14/13/4 and to the other named James the sum of £4/0/0. In which sums he acknowledges himself debtor to the said Negroes as by a letter under his hand in this Meeting will appear.[16]

Another Haddonfield Monthly Meeting appointed a committee "to attend to the care of Becky a poor black woman."[17] A minute of the following meeting discloses that "the committee appointed to state the expense accruing for nursing and attendance on the black woman mentioned last Meeting reported that the accounts stated up to the 13th of this month amounts to

[14] Minutes Burlington Quarter Meeting, 25/viii/1783.
[15] Minutes Haddonfield Monthly Meeting, 13/vii/1767.
[16] *Ibid.*, 10/viii/67.
[17] *Ibid.*, 13/vii/95.

£32 . . 5 . . 6½ which the Preparative Meeting are desired to raise in the usual proportion and produce to the next Meeting." [18]

The above cases represent specific illustrations of activities by Friends in their efforts to assist Negroes in effecting constructive social adjustments. Other minutes of local meetings bear testimony to additional attempts to carry out the advices of the Yearly Meeting. In 1780, Burlington Monthly Meeting continued the committee appointed in the years 1776, 1778, and 1779 to carry out its "religious care for the advice and spiritual and temporal instruction and improvement" of those who were restored to freedom, and their offspring.[19] Eight years later, in 1788, Friends were appointed to "join with women friends, in a solid visit to the families of such black people as are among us, and inquire into their situation and pursuits in life, administering to them such advice temporally and spiritually as may arise on their minds, agreeable to the sense of the last Yearly Meeting." [20] In a later meeting this group reported that "in regard to an extension of care that justice may be done to the black people some attention has been given." [21] In similar fashion Mount Holly Monthly Meeting declares, in "the case of Negroes as mentioned in extracts from the Yearly Meeting coming before this meeting, a committee was appointed to unite with the Quarterly Meeting already appointed on the subject," [22] and "that there had been a care extended towards those Negroes that are set free." [23] The Committee appointed by Evesham Monthly Meeting "to labour in a concern for the good of the oppressed Africans and their descendants, as well as of those set free," reported that they had "many times met thereon and seriously attended to the business." [24] Salem and Gloucester Quarterly Meeting likewise advised the Yearly Meeting that the "care recommended last year to be extended by Friends to free Negroes hath been attended to, and

[18] *Ibid.*, 10/viii/95.
[19] Minutes Burlington Monthly Meeting, 4/xii/80.
[20] *Ibid.*, 1/xii/88. [21] *Ibid.*, 3/viii/89.
[22] Minutes Mount Holly Monthly Meeting, 9/xii/78.
[23] *Ibid.*, 7/viii/83.
[24] Evesham Monthly Meeting, 7/ix/87.

committees appointed for that purpose and such who have families hath generally been visited." [25]

The foregoing paragraphs demonstrate the social vision exercised by Friends in their concern for a constructive supervision over the temporal affairs of the freedmen. In a day when there were those who insisted that the sons of Africa were unable to manage their own lives and so were unfit for freedom, the value of these services cannot be overestimated. It was so very necessary that these former slaves receive guidance in the transition from a paternalistic life to one demanding complete self-control and self-direction. When breakdowns occurred in the management of their affairs, Friends served a very real need by rendering assistance in the adjustments of their social relationships and problems. It is thus evident that the freedmen were being considered as ends in themselves instead of means for satisfying the ends of others. Let us now give attention to the carrying on of these activities by societies established for the promotion of the abolition of slavery in which Friends furnished leadership.

Societies for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery

JUST AS the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends had continuously urged its subordinate meetings to assist the freedmen in the management of their affairs, so the annual conventions of delegates from abolitionist societies established in different parts of the United States implored its local societies to exercise a concern for the welfare of the Negroes in their midst. These groups furthered the tradition of not only seeking the release of slaves from bondage but also of attempting to effect the optimum social adjustments of those made free. The first annual convention urged "that addresses be sent to the different abolition societies, recommending to them to continue their zeal and exertions, in behalf of such of our African Brethren as are yet in bondage; also, to use their utmost endeavors to have the children of the free and other Africans, instructed in common literature—in the principles of virtue and religion, and afterwards in useful and

[25] Salem and Gloucester Quarterly Meeting, 17/v/79.

mechanical arts, thereby to prepare them for becoming good citizens of the United States." [26]

In the following year, 1795, the annual convention urged that consideration be given to "means of improving the condition of the Blacks, who are or may be, made free in the different states and of preventing the inconveniences that may arise from the degraded state of the Negroes in the United States." [27] The body further resolved "that this convention address the free black people, in the United States, exhorting them, by suitable arguments and motives, to such conduct and behavior as may be judged most proper to promote their own happiness, and render them useful members of society." [28]

In 1796, the convention urged the free Africans to teach their children useful trades, or "labor with their hands in cultivating the earth," since these employments were useful to health and virtue. It suggested further that in the choice of masters who were to instruct them in the above "branches of business," they should prefer those who would work with them, since by these means their children would acquire habits of industry, and be better preserved from vice, than if they worked alone, or under the eyes of persons less interested in their welfare. The body also pointed out that "in forming contracts" for themselves or children, with masters, they might for their own advantage and protection consult such persons as were capable of giving them the best advice, who were known to be their friends.[29]

That the local societies seriously considered the recommendation of the annual conventions is evidenced in records left by such groups. The Gloucester County Society paid Thomas Redman five pounds, four shillings to cover expenses for the support of Black Betty, who was under the care of her neighbors.[30] The Constitution of the Trenton Abolition Society stipulated that its members should inspect the morals and conduct of Free Blacks,

[26] *Minutes of the Proceedings of a Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies Established in Different Parts of the United States Assembled at Philadelphia,* Philadelphia 1794, p. 8.

[27] *Ibid.,* 1795, p. 11. [28] *Ibid.,* p. 23. [29] *Ibid.,* 1796, p. 13.

[30] "Minutes Gloucester County Association for the Abolition of Slavery," in Frank H. Stewart, *Geneological and Historical Miscellany No. 1,* Woodbury 1918, p. 27.

advise and protect them, render friendly help, instruct the young and see that they attend school, place out young persons and children to learn trades and become self-supporting, and procure employments, etc.[31]

The body at Burlington appointed a committee whose business it was

> to promote family visits among those of the blacks and people of colour who are housekeepers and to collect them who are single at proper times and places, for the purpose, in general, of opening to them such admonition and council as may present. To advise them to an habitual attention to the duties of public worship—to enquire into their manner of life and to encourage among them good manners, industry, economy, etc.—to warn them against intemperance, bad company, and especially against making their houses a rendevouz for idle and vicious persons of any colour or description. To instil into them a sense of the importance of affording to their offspring school learning and of early placing them out in good places to learn useful business and to acquire industrious habits. To encourage the admission of black children into our common schools especially those who evince favourable dispositions and the promise of genius. To promote the setting on foot of private associations for the purpose of holding first day and winter evening schools for the black people,—and generally to devise and pursue the best plans for bettering the condition of this people, subject to the control of this meeting.[32]

From the foregoing discussion, then, it can be seen that Friends during the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries not only sought the spiritual salvation, the mental enlightenment, and the physical emancipation of the children of the darker race, but constituted themselves true social workers among Negroes, both bond and free.[33] They encouraged masters to "use them well" and to consider their emancipation. They assisted the freedmen by caring for them in illness, by supporting the indigent, by advising parents in the care and rearing of their children. They advised them in matters of employ-

[31] *The Trenton True American,* Trenton, N. J., March 19, 1802.

[32] Minutes New Jersey Society for Promoting The Abolition of Slavery, Burlington County Branch, 28/ix/1804.

[33] For an interesting general account of the social-work activities of the early Friends see Auguste Jorns, *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work,* translated from the German by Thomas K. Brown, Jr., New York 1931, especially pages 197-233, dealing with the abolition of the slave trade and with slavery.

ment; sought to protect them from unscrupulous exploiters; endeavored to improve their household economy. They encouraged them to conform to the mores. By themselves respecting the personalities of the Negroes they attempted to stimulate similar behavior in the members of other groups. By teaching the Negroes to respect themselves they sought to ameliorate the conditions of those who still chafed under the bondman's yoke.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien. Ein Bild aus der religiösen Ideengeschichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. By Lic. Friedrich Nieper. Neukirchen (Kreis Moers), Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins. 407 pp. 5.50 marks (paper); 7.00 marks (cloth).

THE SCOPE of this study is considerably broader than the title indicates. It also comprises an analysis of pietistic anabaptist movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the region of the Lower Rhine; their relationship to the Tunkers, Dompelaars, and the Ephrata community in Pennsylvania; and, in particular, a theological appraisal of their position toward the Bible, the sacraments, and salvation. Nieper devotes considerable space to the Germantown immigrants of 1683 and includes more background material to their history as Mennonites than has been given in the accounts so far published in English or in German. On p. 17, for example, the German text is quoted of two poems found on stained-glass windows in the home of the family of Op den Graeff, and several other documentary proofs in German are also recorded. The author criticizes W. I. Hull's contention for the Dutch nationality of the German immigrants as untenable (p. 93; see article by Hull in this BULLETIN, vol. 27 (1938), pp. 83-90) by arguing that Moers and Krefeld never severed the ties with the other German states after becoming the subjects of William of Orange who inherited the territory. There is also an occasional reference to the linguistic side of the problem; but with all the wealth of material, Nieper hardly adds anything decisive to the solution of the point in question. A variety of expressions by Paquet, Fuchs, Cattepoel, and others, has, so far, not been able to supply definitive proof that Dr. Hull was in error. A. B. Faust (*The German Element in the United States,* New York 1927, p. 46 ff.) mentions Penn's preaching in Germantown in the German language, and Hull himself did not take up the issue of the name of Germantown for an allegedly Dutch community; no comprehensive study of the linguistic aspect has ever been made. The problem, then, which for 250 years never appeared

as such until W. I. Hull introduced it (much to the wrath or astonishment of German historians, some of whom are as objective as he aimed at being), remains unsolved.

Nieper has collected valuable material in this study based upon original research lending color to a variety of leading pietists and carrying the investigation of this phase of German Protestantism beyond the pioneering works of eminent church historians like Goebel, Goeters, Rembert, and a number of Dutch historians. (An error on p. 77 ought to be corrected: Fox, Barclay, Keith, and Furly are called "followers of Penn.") At a time like this a quiet and scholarly contribution of this caliber to the understanding of German-American relations is most encouraging. The Latin type in which the book is printed may facilitate its use by English readers.

George School, Pa. WILLIAM HUBBEN.

God: Some Conversations. By Johann Gottfried Herder. A Translation with a Critical Introduction and Notes by Frederick H. Burkhardt. New York, Veritas Press, 1940. xiv + 247 pp. $2.50.

PROFESSOR BURKHARDT deserves much credit for bringing to the attention of the English-speaking world these fine conversations on God which Herder first published in 1787 and which appeared in a second, revised edition in 1800. The *Conversations* and his famous *Ideas toward a Philosophy of Mankind* must be considered as Herder's most important and most influential works. The former owes its immediate origin to the controversy over Spinoza's philosophy which had broken out in 1785 between Jacobi and Mendelssohn, and in which nearly all philosophical and religious leaders of the German Enlightenment soon took part. For Herder, an ardent admirer though by no means a blind follower of Spinoza, this controversy was a welcome opportunity to come to the rescue of the defamed philosopher and, in doing so, to state unmistakably his own views about God, world, and mankind—in a word, his own religion.

Herder, as "Generalsuperintendent" of the Lutheran Church of Sachsen-Weimar, was expected to hold strictly theistic conceptions of God; but he always felt a strong inclination toward pantheism—and a Leibnizian-Shaftesburyan optimism which he heroically tried to integrate into a more or less harmonious whole. Nowhere did Herder's constant endeavor to synthesize apparently irreconcilable views find a more characteristic expression than in these conversations, in which Herder as Theophron shows Philolaus, a prejudiced anti-Spinozist, the way to a better understanding of Spinoza's philosophy and a more liberal interpretation of his religious concepts. These pedagogically arranged conversations, however, which toward the end are shared by Theophron, by no means constitute an objective presentation, but a highly subjective, radical transformation

of Spinoza's logical pantheism into a dynamic panentheism in which no more of Spinoza is left than the very general principle of the reciprocal immanence of God and world. ("Pantheism" implies identity of God and the world; "panentheism," a God working through and in the world, but not identical with it.) Thus the mathematical formalism of Spinoza is replaced by a dynamic conception of the world, which frees the individual from the shackles of hopeless determinism and again enables him to strive for and create a world of spiritual values which restores free will and human dignity.

These conclusions which Herder found with the help of Leibniz and Shaftesbury are of tremendous importance. They do not only form a bridge to the past Kantian monism manifested by Schelling, Fichte, Hegel, and the romanticists; they were also largely instrumental in protecting occidental thinking from falling into a kind of oriental nirvana with which it was dangerously threatened through Spinoza's quietism.

Seen from this standpoint, the *Conversations* are perhaps of even greater importance than the *Ideas,* and it may be hoped that they find as many intelligent and serious readers as they deserve. Mr. Burkhardt has done everything humanly possible to pave the reader's way to this rare gem in German letters. His translation does not pretend to be "literary," but rather "literal," though it would be wrong to take the latter word in too literal a sense. Very often a long sentence of the original is cut into two or even three parts, a procedure which lightens the reading and brings the ideas of the original more clearly to the fore.

The translator as a rule has been very fortunate in finding the right English equivalents for certain difficult and ambiguous German terms. I wonder, however, whether "einkleidender Dichter" (see *Herders Werke,* ed. Suphan, vol. 16, p. 417), translated with "a creator of poetic forms" (Burkhardt, p. 79), might not have been better rendered by "symbolic poet," and whether "metaphysical understanding" might not be better than "metaphysical sense" (Burkhardt, p. 80) for "metaphysischer Sinn" (Herder-Suphan, p. 418). I am not quite sure whether the term "gesprächig" (Herder-Suphan, p. 422) of the original is rightly translated by "in conversation" (Burkhardt, p. 84), or whether it does not mean "eloquently."

A painstaking philological investigation might perhaps discover other spots where a more "literal" expression might have been used. Such discoveries, however, in my opinion, would materially change the value of the present work, which was not written for philologists but for all those people who are interested in philosophical and religious problems and who use the ideas of great men as a means to understand the trends and currents of former times and through them their own age and themselves. Professor Burkhardt has materially contributed to such a goal, not only as a translator but also as a thorough and clear interpreter. The sixty pages of introduction which precede the actual translation are

a very lucid presentation of the spiritual tendencies of the time which gave birth to this work. For the lay reader they are indispensable and even the scholar conversant with the time will find them very useful.

ERNST JOCKERS

University of Pennsylvania

Just Among Friends: The Quaker Way of Life, by William Wistar Comfort. With an Introduction by Henry Seidel Canby. New York, Macmillan, 1941. xiv + 210 pp. $2.00.

PRESIDENT COMFORT has given us a new interpretation of the Quaker faith and way of life, following in the footsteps of such distinguished Quaker writers as Edward Grubb, Rufus M. Jones, A. Ruth Fry, Jane P. Rushmore, and A. Neave Brayshaw, and bringing the story down to an announcement by the American Friends Service Committee, dated December 11, 1940. In his Conclusion he addresses himself especially to the Friends of the Wider Quaker Fellowship, or Friends of the Friends—those whose ancestors left the Society but who have never entirely lost their sense of fellowship with it, and those who have been attracted by the Society but who have not yet joined—and expresses the hope that his interpretation may be of use to them; but the portrait of Friends in contemplation and in action, the account of their faith and practice, will prove illuminating and stimulating to oldtime members as well.

For the work is admirably done. In spite of the mass of interesting material available in Quaker history and crying for comment, President Comfort has not lost himself in details, but has displayed in his writing something of the quality of artistry which he tends to deny to the Quakers as a group (p. 69). An occasional passage of discreet humor spices the pages; an occasional generalization or piece of homely philosophy points the narrative. The craftsmanship, as well as the content, will win new friends for the Friends.

The first three chapters, and the fifth—"The Quaker Faith," "Quaker Meetings," "Some Fruits of Silence," and "Quaker Education"—have to do largely with Quakers as a self-contained group. Friends in general will be familiar with many of the facts stated; but the presentation is fresh, and the interpretation always stimulating and interesting. The other chapters—"Quakers in a Larger Sphere," "Quaker Business Ethics," "Race Relations," "The Peace Testimony"—show the Quakers more in active contact with the outside world. Many of us learned about these things in childhood; but this or that has slipped our minds, and we have not kept ourselves informed on later developments, so that along with the zest of following a new interpretation by a skilful writer there is interest aroused by much of factual information that is new. The presentation of the peace testimony is especially timely, and, though

it is presumably intended to be rather an exposition of the testimony than an argument for it, President Comfort has nevertheless made his discussion movingly convincing. Rufus Jones is quoted on the jacket as saying of this book: "Those who are wise will want to own it, not to borrow it. It is a gem of a book." With this judgment the present reviewer gladly agrees.

T. K. B.

QUAKER ARCHIVES IN PENNSYLVANIA

THE PROPOSED "Inventory of Quaker Archives in Pennsylvania," which President Comfort commented upon at the last annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association, will soon be published by the Pennsylvania Historical Survey under the sponsorship of our Association. The book will contain approximately four hundred pages, and will include brief histories of all the Friends' meetings in the State, together with an inventory of their minutes and other records which are known to exist. Local meetings are included which belong or once belonged to eight different Yearly Meetings in the State—the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, the General Meeting of Friends (Primitive Friends, now centered at Fallsington), the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends at Longwood, the two Baltimore Yearly Meetings, and Orthodox and Hicksite Yearly Meetings of Ohio. A map of Quaker meetings throughout the State will be included, as well as a list of organizations in which Friends have been interested.

The editorial work for this volume has involved several years' labor on the part of the editor, Lewis C. Moon, and his assistants in the Pennsylvania Historical Survey. Friends' Historical Association, in sponsoring its publication, has provided the funds for printing and binding the volume, an expense which has been borne by certain interested members and Friends' organizations. Orders for the Inventory may be sent to the Secretary of Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, at two dollars a copy; but libraries, historical societies, and members of Friends' Historical Association may order from the Secretary at one dollar a copy.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

FREDERICK B. TOLLES has contributed perhaps the first study yet made of the reading of a citizen of the Middle Colonies in his article "A Literary Quaker: John Smith of Burlington and Philadelphia," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* lxv (1941), pp. 300-333.

REFERRING to the South country members of the well-known York family of Quaker Tukes, W. H. Wilkin in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 20 (1938), 72f remarks: "It must be almost if not quite unique for the head of an untitled family to appear for four generations in succession in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*" A brother and a nephew of the fourth of these Tukes also appear in that work.

IF IT has not been noted before in these pages, reference should be be made to a volume of nearly 700 pages published in 1936 at Strasburg, Va., entitled *Hopwell Friends History, 1734-1934, Frederick County, Virginia.*

ENTIRELY devoted to Quaker history, volume one, number one of the Berwick Historical Society's publications, dated 1940, contains two principal articles on "History of Catawissa Friends' Meeting," by John E. Eshleman, and "The Friends, an Early Berwick Sect," by Jessie Marie Eves. The issue is illustrated with several pictures of the Catawissa and Berwick meeting houses. The publication was made possible by the gifts of over eighty descendents of first settlers.

NEAR THE END of an article on the "Colonial Churches of Nansemond County," Virginia, in the *William and Mary Quarterly* xxi (1941), 37 ff, George C. Mason gives an account of the Friends' meeting houses erected in the county, all before 1706.

DACRE, Darley, Scotton, Knaresborough, Killinghall, and Beckwithshaw are singled out by H. R. Hodgson for notes on their Quaker historical associations in an article in the *Bradford Antiquary,* xxx (March 1939), p. 345 ff.

SEVERAL ARTICLES dealing with Muncy Friends and their meetings are printed in *Now and Then* (Williamsport, Pa.), vol. 5 (1936). The authors are Katherine Kirk, M. Elizabeth Whitacre, Mrs. Charles E. Ecroyd, and others, and they have used among other sources the diaries of the early Friends, James Ecroyd and James Kiteley.

HENRY County Institute of Science, at Trenton, Iowa, is the subject of an article by Melvin Gingerich filling the entire February 1941 issue of *The Palimpsest* (xxii, 33-64). The founder, George Miller (1797-1869), was of Pennsylvania Quaker origin and had helped to organize a similar association in Media, Pennsylvania. He died soon after the Iowa Institute was launched.

IN *THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY* i (1939), 69-75 is an account of Lady "Deborah Moody, Grand Dame of Gravesend" by Alexander C. Flick. Born as Deborah Dunch about 1600, she came as a widow to the New World in 1640, and after buying estates at Salem and Lynn she settled in New Netherlands. The charter granting liberty of conscience was given in 1645. Herself an Anabaptist, she was hostess to the first Quakers. "Probably the first Quaker Meeting in the New World was held at her home." She died in 1659.

STUDENTS of William Penn will be interested in a letter from him to Edward Southwell dated London, 20th 12 mo., 1704, printed and offered for sale in *The Month at Goodspeed's,* xii (1941), p. 256. It refers to "a stroke of illness that has much affected my head," eight years before the stroke which took his memory.

THE ARTICLE on "John Quincy Adams and the Sloop 'Restoration'," preprinted as a pamphlet and described in this BULLETIN 29 (1940), 124-5, is now included as an appendix in T. C. Blegen's volume, *Norwegian Migration to America, The American Transition* (Northfield, Minn., 1940), pp. 599-628.

ON THE OCCASION of the 200th anniversary of the founding of Exeter, New Hampshire, *The Exeter News Letter* for June 12, 1941 prints an article by Enoch W. Pearson telling of another near romance of the poet Whittier, this time for Rowena Thyng, who in 1840 was teaching school at Red Oak Hill near Epping and Lee in that township. T. Franklin Currier presents therewith a poem "The Epping Oak," undoubtedly written by Whittier, ending with a reference to "Creation's loveliest 'Thyng'."

RECENT BOOKS valuable for study of the background of the rise of Quakerism include *Milton in the Puritan Revolution,* by Don M. Wolfe (New York, Nelson, 1941), which deals with Lilburne, Walwyn, and Winstanley; *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley,* by George H. Sabine (Cornell Univ., 1941); and *Left Wing Democracy in the English Civil Wars: a Study of the Social Philosophy of Gerard Winstanley,* by David W. Petegorsky (Gollancz, 1940).

IN THE issue of *The Sky* for March 1941, John H. Pitman, of Swarthmore College, presents the life of J. Anthony Miller under the title "Quaker Astronomer."

CONCERNING John Woolston, an early Quaker settler of Burlington, New Jersey, and his immediate heirs, material from various sources has been collected by Milton Rubincam in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* vol. 59 (1941), pp. 192-197.

AN ACCOUNT of "Valley Friends Meeting House" (near Radnor, Pennsylvania) by Mrs. Ivins C. Walker was published in the *Bulletin* of the Historical Society of Montgomery County ii (1940), 214-219.

LINKING the past with the present, *Newsweek* for Jan. 20, 1941 (vol. xvii, p. 58 ff) uses the 250th anniversary of the death of George Fox as the occasion for a portrait and brief history of the Quakers, including the present work of the American Friends Service Committee.

AMONG the interesting popular articles printed in *The Negro History Bulletin* occurs one by Charlotte Winnemore of Columbus entitled "A Method of Action" (vol. 4 (1940), 70 ff). It illustrates from Quaker antislavery procedure, especially from John Woolman, the spirit of action that changes enemies into friends and cooperators, instead of stimulating opposition.

SEARCHING through letters and other records, Alta Harvey Heiser has compiled the story of her grandmother, Charity Lynch (1779-1848) under the title *Quaker Lady* (Oxford, Ohio, Mississippi Valley Press, 1941), to form an intimate picture of early life, though not particularly the Quaker life, in the Northwest Territory.

STUDIES of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century, by Susie M. Ames (Richmond, Va., 1940, 274 pp.), may be mentioned here particularly for its summary (pp. 231-238), taken largely from the unpublished county records, of the communities of Friends at Nassawadox Creek, Northampton County, and at Muddy or Guilford Creek, Accomack County. Visitors to this area included William Robinson (the Boston martyr), George Fox, Thomas Story, and Samuel Bownas. Many of the settlers who showed recalcitrance in paying tithes as early as 1654 transported themselves to the more hospitable Eastern Shore of Maryland in 1661-62, Annemessex and Manokin.

ON "QUAKERS in Rochester and Monroe County," John Cox, Jr. and Percy E. Clapp have written an interesting article in the *Rochester* (New York) *Historical Society Publications,* xiv (1936), pp. 97-111.

CLEMENT EATON'S *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* (Durham, N. C., 1940) contains several references to the part played by Friends in regard to the freedom of the press, and opposition to slavery. Beside other Friends usually mentioned in this connection he deals somewhat fully with Samuel Janney of Virginia and William Swain of Greensborough, North Carolina.

IN THE *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* vol. 70 (1936), pp. 949-958, will be found an address by Edward W. Cooch delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial, at Newark Burial Ground, to Valentine Hollingsworth (died *ca.* 1710), leader of the Quaker group which founded Newark Monthly Meeting.

ALBERT COOK MYERS contributes an illustrated article to the Gettysburg *Times* of March 4, 1941, concerning the Menallen Friends Meeting House, near Flora Dale, Adams County, Pennsylvania. The present building, which is the only one in the county in which Friends' meetings are regularly held, was built in 1884, but there were meetings in Menallen as early as 1746 and a meeting house existed in 1758.

THE ARMY QUARTERLY xi (1940), 329-335 under the caption "A Quaker Critic of an Engagement in the 'Forty-Five" prints an account of the pursuit by the Duke of Cumberland and successful resistance by the Scotch rebels near Penrith on December 18, 1745. The writer was Alexander Fothergill of Carr Ender by Semer Water in the North Riding, eldest brother of Dr. John Fothergill. Just what more than curiosity brought Alexander to become rather more than a passive eye-witness of the engagement is not disclosed. His account is a detailed and vivid one.

IN THE *Reader's Digest,* vol. 38, no. 227 (March 1941), p. 85 ff, Henry Seidel Canby, under the title "The Most Unforgettable Character I Ever Met," describes his boyhood contacts with a simple Quaker naturalist named Thomas Seal, who lived near Birmingham, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

ON GEORGE FOX, a brief sketch for the series *Creative Personalities,* vol. iii of *Founders of Christian Movements,* edited by Philip Henry Lotz (Association Press, 1941), was written by the late Thomas R. Kelly.

NEW YORK HISTORY publishes in instalments, xxi (1940), 324-334, 431-442, the diary of Aaron Hamton in a journey he took in 1813 from Kingwood in New Jersey to Lake Erie. The writer was a New Jersey Quaker who bought land in the Holland Purchase in 1811 and migrated thither with his family in 1814. Other Quakers from various parts of the East settled in the same area. As a good Quaker Hamton says little of the war then raging, but he mentions Friends and meetings along his route.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (London)

"THE 1902 Bill," by Caroline Graveson, tells of the Education Bill which transferred the control of the elementary schools to the County Councils. May 2, 1941, pp. 219-220.

"York's Quaker Associations," by E. E. T., reminds Friends of their visits there since Fox's preaching in 1651. July 25, 1941, pp. 354-355.

The Friend (Philadelphia)

THE LIFE and writings of Charles Francis Saunders, Quaker botanist who died First Month 5, 1941, are reviewed by Edward Hicks Parry. Charles F. Saunders was born in Warminster, Pennsylvania, Seventh Month 12, 1859, but he moved to Pasadena, California, after a short business career, and devoted himself to the study of western botany and the Spanish missions, writing some seventeen books on these subjects. June 26, 1941, p. 493.

"Colora Friends' Meeting," by Ruth Balderston Lippincott, tells of the centennial celebration of this Maryland meeting, with notes on the Hicksite and Primitive separations there. Sept. 18, 1941, pp. 105-106.

Friends Intelligencer

AN OLD contributor to Quaker history appears in a new guise in the series of articles begun in Third Month 29, 1941 (p. 197) under the title "Letters from the Past." The signature is "Now and Then," which tells very little, but the comments in the first letter on visiting historic Quaker sites in bombed London and Bristol to see what Friends are now doing in relief, identify the writer as our own Quaker antiquarian, professor of theology, librarian, peace advocate, and ambassador extraordinary of the American Friends Service Committee, Henry J. Cadbury. Letter 2 (Fourth Month 5, 1941, pp. 213-214) contains a description of life in modern Lisbon, port of entry and departure for Europe-bound Friends, and two notes on earlier Quaker contacts with Portugal, the more important being the visit of Anne Gargill in 1655, and her interrogation by the Inquisition.

These other Letters follow: 3. Jamaican Quakerism (Fifth Month 10, p. 298); 4. Early Quaker Relief Work Overseas (Fifth Month 17, p. 314); 5. Quaker by Error (Fifth Month 24, pp. 330-331); 6. Two John Warders, 1781 and 1941 (Sixth Month 7, p. 368); 7. Now is the Time (Sixth Month 14, pp. 380-381); 8. Finns and Friends (Seventh Month 5, pp. 430-431); 9. Quaker Stakes in Syria (Seventh Month 19, p. 462); 10. Apostles to Ireland (Seventh Month 26, p. 479); 11. In French Prisons (Eighth Month 9, p. 513); 12. Quaker Wills (Ninth Month 13,

pp. 492-493); 13. Semiannual Sessions (Ninth Month 27, p. 621); 14. Lost Minutes (Tenth Month 18, 1941, p. 669).

"SCHOFIELD Normal and Industrial School" tells of the recent history of this Quaker foundation for Negroes in Aiken, South Carolina. Fifth Month 24, 1941, pp. 333-336.

Camden Meeting House, Delaware, built in 1805, is described by Mary Sullivan Patterson. Eighth Month 9, 1941, p. 514.

"Cadwalader Morgan, Antislavery Quaker of the Welsh Tract," by Thomas E. Drake, includes a copy of Morgan's paper on slavery, which was presented to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1696. Ninth Month 6, 1941, pp. 575-576.

"Quaker Frontiersmen in Texas," from a published journal of Rollie Burns, tells of a short-lived Quaker colony at Estacado, founded in 1888. Tenth Month 4, 1941, p. 640.

The American Friend

"A NEW Yearly Meeting is Born," by Anna Griscom Elkinton, tells of the organization of Jamaica Yearly Meeting on April 15, 1941. May 8, 1941, pp. 197-198.

An account of the life of a Norwegian-American Quaker prominent in the West is given in "John Frederick Hanson [1841-1917] Centenary Observed." September 11, 1941, p. 399.

The Gospel Minister

"A MISREPRESENTATION of Friends" criticizes the article by Stanley High in the *Saturday Evening Post* of February 17, 1940, on the ground that it neglects to portray the position of evangelical Friends as different from that of the Conservative and Hicksite Friends. April 4, 1940, pp. 1-2.

The Friend of Australia and New Zealand

"THE Foundation Beliefs of Quakerism," by Philip J. Thorne, contains a section on the historical background and an analysis of the beliefs of the early Friends. October 20, 1940, pp. 7-8, and December 20, 1940, pp. 6-8.

"'Onward Christian Soldiers'; the Nation's Conscientious Objectors Work out Their Convictions," by Robert E. S. Thompson, in the *Saturday Evening Post,* August 16, 1941, pp. 27 ff., is a journalist's report of progress at the Civilian Public Service Camp No. 3, near Elkridge, Maryland.

The part played by Friends in the rescue in 1822 from his would-be captors of an escaped slave living on Nantucket, is told in Edouard Stackpole's "Angola Street and Arthur Cooper—a Misplaced Street and a Rescued Slave," in *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association, 1941, pp. 31-35. There is also a note on the case in which William Rotch secured the emancipation of a slave in Nantucket in 1770.

BENJAMIN WEST'S PAINTING OF PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

By Ellen Starr Brinton

WHEN BENJAMIN WEST, in 1771, placed on canvas his conception of William Penn's peace treaty with the Indians, he little knew how often that picture would be copied, reproduced, and imitated during succeeding generations. Whether the popularity of this subject is due to the peace motive, the novelty of the episode, or the striking presentation one can only guess. The picture was acclaimed as soon as it was completed.

Reproductions were made in England by the best engravers, and these were copied in Scotland, Ireland, Italy, France, Germany, and Mexico and the United States, and all kinds of variations introduced. One of the early writers about the Society of Friends said in 1806 that while Quakers refrained from loading their houses with the usual furniture of the period, nearly every Friend's family had a framed print of "the famous Treaty between William Penn and the Indians of America." [1]

Manufacturers of household goods for England and the new trade in the United States were quick to profit by any current market, and used the picture freely as a decorative motive. By the 1850's one could have the peace treaty not only as a framed

[1] See frontispiece, and the Boydell-Hall engraving, p. 169.

Thomas Clarkson, in *A Portraiture of Quakerism,* London 1806, vol. i pp. 289-297, gives a very interesting description of the Quaker homes in England of that time. He says in regard to paintings or prints in frames (p. 292 ff): "I seldom remember to have seen above three or four articles of this description in all my intercourse with the Quakers. Some families had one of these, others a second, and others a third, but none had them all; and in many families neither the [one] nor the other was to be seen. One of the prints to which I allude, contained a representation of the conclusion of the famous Treaty between William Penn and the Indians of America. . . . The second was the print of a Slave-ship, published a few years ago. . . . The third contained a Plan of the Buildings of Ackworth School."

There is also another interesting note in *Roger Fry* by Virginia Woolf (Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 12: "Even in the 19th century almost the only picture to be found in a Quaker household was an engraving of Penn's Treaty with the Indians—that detestable picture, as Roger Fry called it later."

picture for wall ornamentation but also on dishes, candle screens, hand-painted trays, bed curtains, window curtains, whisky glasses, bed quilts, and iron plates.

Now a hundred years later there is another wave of interest in this memorable episode. During the Christmas season of 1940 an insurance company used a copy of the West painting on its annual calendar; a department store engraved the picture on its "Merchandise Bonds"; a publishing house sent out gift subscription cards on which the peace treaty was a conspicuous feature.[2] These were probably not planned as peace propaganda; and yet it would seem that the revival of this picture—in the midst of the worst conflict the world has ever known—illustrates a universal craving for understanding, justice, and peace. The happy arrangement between William Penn and the Indians nearly two hundred and sixty years ago remains an ideal to which minds repeatedly turn.

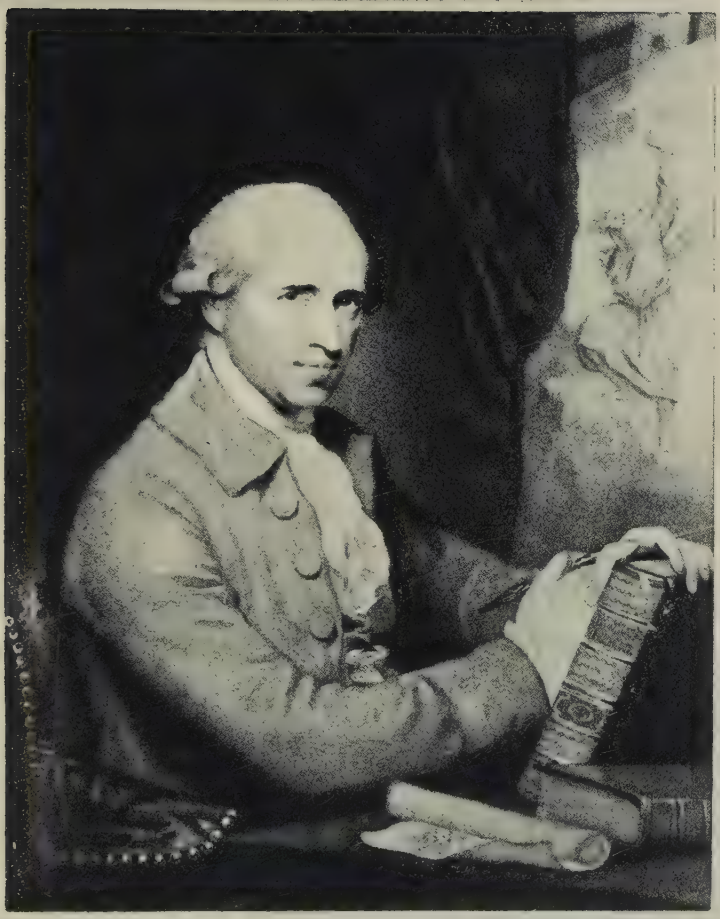
After one has seen a number of versions of the peace treaty picture and possibly read a few descriptions of the event, there eventually arises a question as to what really happened. Was there actually a formal treaty as most pictures suggest? When was it negotiated? Who was present? Where are records now? Is any one picture more nearly correct than another?

Partly to answer these questions and partly from sheer fun in collecting and research, the writer has attempted to gather some definite information.

THE PAINTING

BENJAMIN WEST was born 1738 at Springfield, Pennsylvania, about ten miles west of Philadelphia, the exact location of his home now being the "Benjamin West house" on

[2] The 1941 calendar of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia carries a colored reproduction of the West painting of Penn's Peace Treaty with the Indians. The Conde-Nast Company of New York sent out as a 1940 Christmas card a colored print of the Peaceable Kingdom by Edward Hicks and a good portion of that painting is copied from West's picture. Also Gimbel Brothers' department store, Philadelphia, issued engraved "Merchandise Gift Bonds" for the Christmas season of 1940 and these carried as a background the center portion of West's picture. The Philadelphia Electric Company in February 1941 purchased the Edward Savage copy of West's painting for their executive offices.


Gabriel Stuart pinxit.
Jas & Jos Boydell excudit 1786
Caroline Watson Sculpsit
Engraver in her Majesty
BENJAMIN WEST ESQ.R
HISTORICAL PAINTER to His MAJESTY.

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Portrait of Benjamin West by Gabriel Stuart

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The house in which Benjamin West was born, now on the campus of Swarthmore College, as it appeared before the restoration
Built in 1724, restored in 1875 after a fire

the present campus of Swarthmore College. There are several biographies available,[3] and well authenticated stories of his career frequently have been told; so for present purposes it need only be recalled that he went to Italy to study in 1760, visited London 1763 on his way home, found so much opportunity there for a young artist that he sent to America for his bride-to-be, was married in St. Martins-in-the-Fields, stayed in England until he died in 1820, and was buried in Westminister Abbey.

West's first great historical painting was the *Death of General Wolfe*. This created much excitement; for the tradition of clothing the characters in the classical attire of ancient Greece and Rome was abandoned for the realistic method of presenting the scene and the various persons portrayed as nearly as possible in costumes and fixtures belonging with that particular period.

The following year he exhibited at the Royal Academy[4] of London another painting with a historic background. It was listed in the catalog as "William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, when he founded the province of Pensylvania in North America." It is painted in oil on a canvas 75½ × 108¾ inches. In the lower left corner it is signed and dated 1771. According to Horace Walpole,[5] who made notes on his catalogs and then carefully filed them away: ". . . this picture, which contains many figures, was painted in three weeks time, has good drawing and great merit. The contrast of simplicity between the Quakers and the Indians has great effect. The colouring like all his pictures in his second manner, is heavy, brickish, and void of clearness. . . . The best of his works in the exposition."

The painting has been recently cleaned and restored at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and has

[3] For a brief and very excellent bibliography of Benjamin West see the first chapter in *America's Old Masters* by James Thomas Flexner, New York, Viking Press, 1939.

[4] The Royal Academy was formed under the patronage of King George III. Sir Joshua Reynolds was the first President of the Royal Academy (P. R. A.), and was succeeded at his death in 1792 by Benjamin West.

[5] The catalogs of the Royal Academy, annotated by Horace Walpole, have been preserved and were owned in 1906 by the Earl of Rosebery. Algernon Graves, author of *Royal Academy Exhibitors 1776-1904* (London 1906), had access to these and quotes the various notes made by Horace Walpole.

now a bright, fresh appearance with clear blue skies, green leaves, and brilliant red feathers in the Indian headdresses. To the casual observer there is no sign of the "brickish" colors mentioned by Walpole.

For the sake of comparison with copies of this painting a brief notation of some features of the original might be useful. The Indian mother's robe is plain purple-red, not striped as often represented. The girl beside her with hand outstretched has a yellow garment. The Indian standing back of the mother has a bolt of green cloth over his shoulder. The central figure kneeling by the chest has jacket in soft green. There is a squirrel faintly visible on the tree trunk. The bricks of the houses, the name plate with initials and date, and the birds in the sky, are barely visible and would not normally be noticed at all. The man leaning on the chest has a dark green jacket, and the long cloak is a soft green.

It appears from a letter of Benjamin West to a certain Mr. W. Darton, dated February 2, 1805, that West painted the picture at the request of Thomas Penn. According to information available, the painting went directly from the Royal Academy Exhibition to Stoke Park near Winsor, then the home of Thomas Penn,[6] the son of the Founder William Penn.

Thomas Penn died March 21, 1775, leaving the property at Stoke Park in trust to his son John, then a boy of fifteen years.

[6] The text of the letter is given in full below, p. 115.

See Howard M. Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn . . .*, Philadelphia 1899, for details about William Penn and his descendants and their various homes. There are also generous quotations from John Jay Smith's *Address to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* November 18, 1867, in which he tells of his visit to Stoke Park in 1845, of the happy family living there, and of the beautiful grounds and some of the furnishings. The family in 1845 consisted of Granville John Penn, his aged mother, three unmarried sisters, and a younger brother. One item mentioned was "a large portion of the Treaty Tree, sent by some members of the Historical Society, with a silver label on it."

Mr. Jenkins's book appeared in two forms, nearly identical, one being a reprint of the other made in order to replace a stock of unbound sheets of the original which had been burned. The reprint is distinguishable by an explanatory note on page iv. Page references to original and reprint are here marked *a* and *b* respectively.—For the above quotation see p. 169*a*, 188*b*.—John Jay Smith's *Address* is published in the *Penn-Logan Correspondence,* vol. i.

The furniture (and we suppose this includes the Treaty painting) went to him outright. John Penn never married. At his death, June 1834, a brother Granville Penn succeeded to the estate. Granville Penn died in 1844, almost precisely two centuries after the birth of his grandfather William Penn.[7]

The family home then went to Granville John Penn[8] (1803-1867), son of Granville Penn. He likewise never married and was the last male descendant of William Penn to bear the name of Penn.

In 1848 the great estate was broken up and Stoke Park was purchased by Mr. Henry Labouchere (later Baron Taunton). John Penn had added much acreage and had completely rebuilt the Thomas Penn house, making an extensive home often referred to as "the castle"; but his letters speak of the cost of upkeep as becoming a serious burden. The next generation apparently found the expense too great.

Just what happened to the Peace Treaty painting and how it got to Philadelphia has not been certain until recently, when a letter written by Joseph Harrison[9] was discovered by the writer

[7] This remarkable space covered by three succeeding generations can be explained when it is realized that William Penn was 58 years old when his son Thomas was born and Thomas Penn was 61 when his son Granville was born. For genealogical chart see Arthur Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England,* New York, Macmillan, 1932, p. 336 f. See also Jenkins, *op. cit.,* p. 166*a,* 184*b.*

[8] According to Howard M. Jenkins, Granville John Penn maintained the tradition of his family and twice visited Pennsylvania, in 1851 and again in 1857. "He presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the large wampum belt which is preserved among its collections, and which has come to be affectionately regarded by many as a present made by the Indian chiefs to the Founder at the 'Great Treaty' of 1683." See Jenkins, *op. cit.,* p. 168*a,* 186*b.*

Note the date used by Mr. Jenkins—1683—as the time of the "Great Treaty." As will be seen on succeeding pages, the dates given for this treaty, as exhibited on various pictures and mentioned in many books, all of them claiming to be authentic and correct, actually vary from 1661 to 1686.

[9] See account of Joseph Harrison, Jr. in *Dictionary of American Biography.* In the spring of 1843 Mr. Harrison went to St. Petersburg to build railroad equipment for the Russian government. His work was so satisfactory that he was not only decorated by the Emperor but was handsomely rewarded financially. He returned to Philadelphia in 1852 a

in the so-called Gift File at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[10] Here he tells even the price he paid Granville (John) Penn for it:

433 Arch Street, Phila.
December 8, 1852

Mr. Townsend Ward Esq.
My dear Sir,

I owe you an apology for not having sent you the information I promised sooner in regard to picture of Penn's Treaty.

In the spring of 1851 I saw this picture advertised in a London paper to be sold at public auction with others from the collection at Stoke Park the seat of the Penn family. I concluded to attend the sale and if not above my notion of its value to secure the picture with the intention of having it come to Philadelphia which of all other places is its home. I bid for it when it was put up, and it went nearly twice as high as I had thought it would have sold for. It was knocked down but not to me. After the sale I was curious to know who had obtained the picture and upon inquiring found that it had not been sold, not having reached the limit fixed by its owner. I subsequently negotiated its purchase from Mr. Granville Penn for £500 through a third party (I having been obliged to leave London for a time).

The above are all the facts connected with my purchase of this picture. I might say, that in buying it, I was mainly filled with the desire as a Pennsylvanian and a Philadelphian to secure it for my native city and thus prevent it from being hidden in some of the private galleries of Europe as hundreds of the works of our distinguished countryman West are now lost to the world.

Hoping the above will meet your wishes, I remain

Very respectfully,
Your Obt. Servt.
Joseph Harrison.

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rich man. He built an imposing residence on South Eighteenth Street, opposite Rittenhouse Square (now the site of the Penn Athletic Club), and took pleasure in collecting paintings and art objects from various parts of the world. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a copy of the *Catalogue of pictures in the Gallery of Joseph Harrison Jr., Rittenhouse Square, Phila.* There is no mention of the Peace Treaty painting; the catalog may, therefore, have been printed after the painting went to Independence Hall, or even at the time of settlement of his estate.

[10] Autograph letter, signed, from Joseph Harrison to Townsend Ward, filed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Gift Book No. 2, page 15, dated as having been given to the Society December 8, 1852. No information is available regarding Townsend Ward.

This letter confirms the fact that the Penns were trying to turn some of their possessions into cash. In the records [11] of the famous art auction rooms, Christie's of London, there is listed for sale on July 10, 1851, a painting by West, Penn's Treaty with the Indians, consigned by Stoke Court. It was bid to 441 pounds and bought in by the family as Mr. Harrison relates.

There is no record as to when the painting arrived in Philadelphia. Acquisition of such a historic object in this day would certainly bring some newspaper publicity, but search of the files of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of that period shows no mention of the event. Mr. Harrison did, however, report the picture to the Historical Society,[12] and invited the members to see it at his house.

The painting however was known to the public and considered an important historic object. Evidence of this is found in a pamphlet [13] printed during Civil War days, and recently acquired by the Jane Addams Peace Collection at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College. Philadelphia organized a "Great Central Fair" to raise money for the sufferers. It was held in Logan Square in June 1864, and one of the exhibits was a "William Penn Parlor" containing a great number of articles connected with the early history of Pennsylvania, and especially with William Penn. The "Memorial Circular," as the pamphlet is titled (and priced at 10 cents), lists and describes ninety-three

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[11] *Art Sales,* by Algernon Graves. 1921, vol. iii, p. 327.

[12] At the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania November 8, 1852, the minutes record:

Mr. Breck read a letter from Mr. Joseph Harrison in which Mr. Harrison mentioned that he had purchased at a sale in London West's original picture of the Treaty, and also that he had in his possession what was supposed to be an original miniature of William Penn, the property of Mr. Phillips of London, both of which he would be happy to show the Society. . . . He stated the painting was at his house, where he would be happy to show it to the members.

Records of the Society show that Mr. Harrison became a life member, joining November 8, 1852.

[13] Pamphlet with cover: "Memorial of the William Penn Parlor in the Great Central Fair, held in Logan Square, June 1864, for the benefit of the U. S. Sanitary Commission. Prepared by a Sub-Committee. Price 10 cents. Philadelphia: Published for the Benefit of the Fair. James B. Rodgers, Printer, 52 and 54 North Sixth Street." 16 pages.

articles;[14] heading the list is "Penn's Treaty with the Indians;—Orginal Picture by Benjamin West. From Joseph Harrison, Jr."

Joseph Harrison died March 27, 1874. His will,[15] dated January 23, 1873, makes mention of some possible plan for disposing of his works of art. "The plan is not yet matured and if I shall omit hereafter to reduce my project into a codicil to my will I leave them to my wife whose disposition of them as she may see fit, I adopt." His final decision regarding the West picture was to send it for exhibition in the National Museum, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, and a formal receipt[16] dated Oct. 25, 1873, signed by the curator as receiving it from Joseph Harrison, definitely fixes the date of its presentation for public display.

[14] The Committee of the William Penn Parlor was headed by Eli K. Price, and members consisted of men and women well known to Philadelphia of that time, some of whom lived until recent years and left descendants also interested in the preservation of historical items. The announcement stated that articles would be solicited both for exhibition and for sale, but the list does not state which were which and in many cases the owners' names were not given. Some of the items came from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and some from the Pennsylvania Hospital, and probably are still in their care, but the private articles, with changes that come with passing years, have no doubt been scattered to the four corners of the earth. It is certainly doubtful that those same articles could be gathered now from the homes around Philadelphia.

Items connected with the Peace Treaty were listed as follows:

1. Original painting by West
4 and 5. "Needlework in Silk, 1763: Representing Penn's Treaty with the Indians"
10. "Old Waiter, with Penn's Treaty picture on it." This is now in the possession of Caroline and Marian T. Justice, Narberth, Pa., nieces of Alfred B. Justice, member of the committee.
11. "Engraving of the Treaty. S. R. Parrish"
21. "Old Engraving of the Treaty"
47. "Wampum Belt, given by the Indians at the Treaty, from collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania"
54. "Cup presented by Indian Chief to William Penn at the Treaty. Miss Lydia Leedom"
76. "Engraving of Treaty, framed in Treaty Tree, from Charles Evans, Philadelphia"

[15] On file in City Hall, Philadelphia; there is also a printed copy at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[16] In the files of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

Apparently there was some uncertainty about final plans for the West painting (as well as for some others), for on the back of the above-mentioned receipt is a note signed January 23, 1878, by Sarah Harrison, his widow: "The within pictures are the property of The Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia to be left on deposit in the National Museum on free exhibition to the people of Philadelphia as long as the City provides a proper place for them and takes proper care of them."

The wisdom of this dual arrangement can be better appreciated when it is realized that the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts was founded in 1806, and that it is the oldest institution in the United States devoted to the fine arts, and has had the confidence of artists and art patrons from the beginning. On the other hand, Independence Hall was the focus of public attention and was considered not only a national shrine but the proper depository for relics of early Pennsylvania history. However it was not always so well kept, and protected from fire and other dangers, as at the present time; and Mrs. Harrison's note was, and is, a check giving authority for care and preservation of the painting to trained art experts rather than city politicians.

The picture has continued in the custody of the National Museum at Independence Hall except for those times when it has been moved for temporary loan. There seems to be no clear record at the Academy of the Fine Arts or at Independence Hall as to these loans except in recent years. It is known that the picture was part of a great peace exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.[17] It was at the Philadelphia Museum of Art during the Benjamin West Exhibition February 26 to April 14, 1938; at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art [18] March 30, 1939, to January 8, 1940; and at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, from October 24 to December 15, 1940.

Some of West's paintings were so popular that he was asked to paint replicas; the most notable being the "Death of General

[17] Records of Universal Peace Union, Philadelphia, Alfred H. Love, President, 1869-1913; now in the Jane Addams Peace Collection, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

[18] The painting was loaned by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, for display there during the period of the New York World's Fair, 1939.

Wolfe," of which Benjamin West painted five versions. The history of all of these is on record and their present location is known.[19] It has generally been thought that only one painting of the Peace Treaty was made—the canvas that was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1772 and then transferred to the Penn estate at Stoke. This picture was exhibited at the British Institution [20] in 1833, and then it again went into seclusion and obscurity with practically no mention or even listing among the West paintings until it was finally hung in Independence Hall in 1873. That means that for nearly a hundred years the painting was peculiarly a personal or family possession, and the only way the public could see the West picture was to purchase one of the various small engravings of it.

However, there is a record of a preliminary sketch made by West for the Peace Treaty picture. This is listed in *Belle Assemblée* [21]—a London periodical of the early nineteenth century—in what the editor called a "correct catalogue of all the works of Mr. West, with the various sizes of the pictures, the persons for whom they have been painted, and in whose possessions they are now." Even the paintings in Mr. West's house at Windsor are described, under such definite headings as their actual location in the buildings. There is no mention of the Peace Treaty picture as being in the possession of the Penn family at Stoke, but among the list of "Drawings and Sketches on paper in the Gallery of the West House" is listed a "Drawing of Penn's Treaty." No size or description is given.

It is believed that it is this drawing which is now in the Cooper Union Museum, New York City. According to the

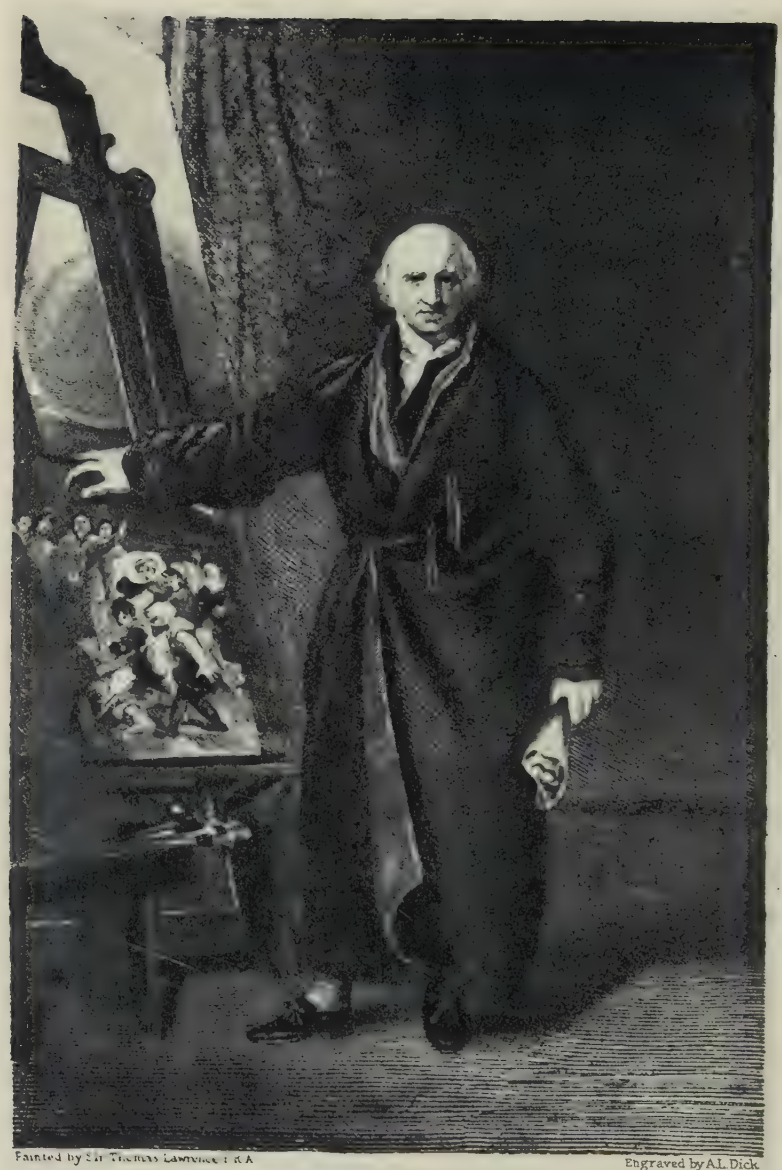
[19] *Benjamin West Catalogue,* Pennsylvania Museum of Art, 1938, pp. 26-27. (The Museum is now called the Philadelphia Museum of Art.)

[20] The British Institution, an organization to encourage the fine arts, held exhibitions in the old Boydell Galleries from 1806 to 1867. Records show that thirty-two of West's pictures were shown there at different times.

[21] *Belle Assemblée;* or *Bell's Court and Fashionable Magazine,* was published in London from 1806 to 1832. It was continued as *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée,* later as *Court Magazine and Monthly Critic.* In the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pa., is a fragment of 11½ pages torn from a copy of *Belle Assemblée,* giving detailed description of many of the West paintings and drawings. No date is available, but apparently this was about the time of his death, 1820.

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The West family group: from the painting by Benjamin West



Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Portrait of Benjamin West by Sir Thomas Lawrence

records of the Museum,[22] it was presented by an English gentleman, Leverton Harris, M.P., in 1915. The drawing is in pencil on paper 82½ inches long by 54½ inches high. Its condition is poor, the paper stained and blotched; but one can still see the general outline of the background and the bold strokes portraying William Penn and his companions.

There is also a record of a *small* painting by West of the William Penn Peace Treaty. This was sold at Christie's auction rooms, London, February 26, 1791, for £25.4.0., consigned by Richard Price Jones, owner. In the sale catalog, it is identified as "A small picture painted for the plate by Benjamin West."[23] This means that John Hall, who made the copper plate for the famous Boydell-Hall engraving, probably worked from this miniature copy made for the purpose by West. Apparently it was purchased by the Nugent family of England, for it disappeared from public sight until May 2, 1929, when it was sold with other Nugent heirlooms in the collection of Sir Edmund Charles Nugent, at Puttick and Simpson, London. This painting, listed in the sale catalog as item No. 96, was purchased by Mr. A. de Casseres, dealer, 3 St. James Street, for 360 guineas. It was next owned by Mr. Percy A. Rockefeller. He bequeathed it to his wife. She died in 1935, and the painting is now part of the art collection of the Percy A. Rockefeller Estate.[24]

Hanging in the Reading Room of the Mechanics Institute of Derby, England, is another painting of William Penn's Peace Treaty with the Indians. According to recent letters to the writer[25] from the curator, S. Laughton, this is listed and identified by art expert insurance agents as an authentic Benjamin West painting. It is painted in oil on canvas, 75 inches high by

[22] Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, Cooper Square and Seventh Ave., New York. Letter to the writer in the Jane Addams Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa.

[23] *Art Sales,* by Algernon Graves. 1921, vol. iii.

[24] See illustration, p. 168. A letter from John L. Nickalls, Friends House, Euston Road, London, dated April 12, 1939, gives many notes about reproductions of the Peace Treaty known in England. Information also has come from The Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

[25] On file in the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; dated Sept. 12, 1940 and Sept. 15, 1941.

108 inches long. Records state that it was presented by Joseph Street of Derby about 1844.[26] Because of war conditions in England it has been impossible to secure a photograph, but apparently it resembles very closely the picture in Independence Hall. The existence of these two Treaty pictures has been known of by Robert Pearsall Smith[27] and others in England since at least 1895, and some of the persons interested have questioned the possibility of *two* identical paintings by West on this subject and have been inclined to think the English version was the original.

Another curious report about two paintings by West of the peace treaty can be found in a volume published in 1888 by the Friends' Institute in London, called *Biographical Catalogue,* which is really a brief history of the portraits and other pictures hanging on the walls of the Institute rooms. "Benjamin West's picture of the Treaty was one of his early productions, but this has in some way disappeared. The one now in the Historical Museum, Philadelphia (the gift of the late Joseph Harrison's family) is the second that he painted and is on a large canvas. The antecedents of the painter peculiarly qualified him for the successful treatment of this memorable interview."[28]

THE LEGEND

SO FAR as is known there is no contemporary written record, now existing, connected with William Penn's peace treaty with the Indians. If one uses the present-day meaning of the word "treaty," the natural expectation would be that the two parties exchanged written agreements, that these would be preserved among the archives of the respective parties, and that some memoranda of the event would be made by the witnesses in their various personal papers or some reference be found in contemporary letters.

No such papers are available in the files of the Penn family, the English government, or the archives of the State of Penn-

[26] Letter from John L. Nickalls; see note 24.

[27] Son of John Jay Smith of Philadelphia, and father of Logan Pearsall Smith, England, author of *Unforgotten Years,* Little, Brown & Co. 1939.

[28] *Biographical Catalogue, being an account of Lives of Friends and others whose Portaits are in the London Friends' Institute.* Published in 1888 by London Friends' Institute, 13 Bishopsgate Street without, London, edited by W. Beck, W. F. Wells, and H. G. Chalkley, p. 841.

sylvania, or in the libraries of various historical societies. There are persistent rumors that the Indians were given a parchment record and that this has been passed from generation to generation among the Indians, but if this was done, no white man since the time of Penn has seen such a document nor left a record about it.

The painting of the event by West and its widespread reproduction during the early nineteenth century brought the question of the peace treaty sharply to the attention of historians at that period. This resulted in the appointment of a committee by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to investigate and sift the story to the bottom. The result was a thirty-six page pamphlet [29] published in 1836 by Peter S. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher, both men of prominence in Philadelphia of that time and accustomed to the problems of historical research. The authors inquired of descendants of early settlers, analyzed traditional stories, examined records and accounts of early Pennsylvania both in this country and England, and in general tried to secure basic facts regarding the date and place of the treaty, and what actually occurred.

The conclusion that Mr. Ponceau and Mr. Fisher reached in 1836 was that before William Penn arrived in Pennsylvania, his commissioners had at various times purchased land from the Indians. After Penn's landing at Newcastle, Delaware, October 27, 1682, and at Upland (now Chester), Pennsylvania, three days later, his journeys to different parts of the province made it impossible for him to have any formal, arranged meeting along the Delaware River until perhaps late in November 1682. It is known that Penn had friendship conferences several times with different groups of Indians, in 1682 and in 1683, and in later years, but no purchases took place at any of them—that was a business arrangement always handled entirely differently. The investigators also emphasized in their analysis that in the seven-

[29] *A Memoir on the History of the Celebrated Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon in the Year 1682,* by Peter S. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher, 1836. Copy on file at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. At that time Du Ponceau was Vice President (President 1837) and Fisher was Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

teenth century treaties were not made as West portrayed this one, neither at that time nor any time, with North American Indians. "No one must ever expect to see a parchment roll signed and executed by all the parties." The parchment is not so prominent in West's painting as in later reproductions.

The basis for the whole legend of recent times, the authors thought, lay in a picturesque story which Benjamin West told in his old age to Thomas Clarkson, an important Quaker of England and writer of many books on William Penn and Quaker history. J. Francis Fisher went to see Thomas Clarkson, who in 1836 was still living in England. "Mr. Clarkson has told J. Francis Fisher, that he was indebted for his information on the subject of this treaty to our celebrated painter Benjamin West, who we are sure told him nothing else than what he himself believed. But Mr. West left this country at an age when young men are not apt to make profound inquiries into historical facts. In 1760 when he went to Italy those who in 1682 were of an age to observe passing events had disappeared from the scene, and he can have had but a general traditional knowledge of the great treaty, which, without the least imputation to his veracity, we suspect his enthusiastic imagination did not contribute a little to embellish; for, to be candid, the description given us by Mr. Clarkson of this treaty, and which as to externals agrees with Mr. West's picture, appears to us to savour something more of the brush of the painter than of the pen of the historian."

If the "Great Treaty" had been a single important event in the life of William Penn or the founding of Pennsylvania, it is to be supposed that the complete narrative would be found somewhere in early Quaker writings. The first biography of William Penn was published in 1726. The editor, Joseph Besse,[30] gives no details about a treaty with the Indians, mentioning the

[30] Joseph Besse, a well known Quaker historian, is best known for his famous book, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers.* His biography of Penn is prefixed to the first volume of *A Collection of the Works of William Penn,* London 1726. There is no report of a specific treaty, only a brief statement on page 122 that "His Friendly and pacifick Manner of treating the Indians begat in them an Extraordinary Love and Regard to him, and his People, so that they have maintained a perfect Amity with the English of Pensylvania ever since."

subject only in a general way on a single page. According to Dr. William I. Hull's *Eight First Biographies of William Penn,*[31] no complete autobiography is extant. The first full-length biography of Penn was written by Thomas Clarkson and published in London in 1813. It is thus not impossible that someone may still find records and details of this phase of Penn's life to confirm all traditions, but until then most of the stories must be considered legend.

In the Clarkson story,[32] certain of Penn's associates are definitely named and described just as pictured in West's painting. It is amusing to check on succeeding Quaker writers and see how they either repeat the Clarkson version with sometimes elaborate amplification or else deny the whole tale. The two extremes are perhaps M. L. Weems[33] in his *Life of William Penn,* published 1822, who not only describes the event minutely, but lists in detail all the items given to the Indians at the time of the Great Treaty, including: 20 guns, 100 bars of lead, 40 pairs of stockings, 100 jew's-harps, 30 gimlets, 1 barrel of beer, 5 gallons of molasses; to the total value of $515.50; and Vulliamy, who termed the picture "ridiculous," "the most false picture ever painted, even by a Royal Academician."[34]

As to the persons supposed to have been portrayed in the picture, the only authentic information existing is contained in a

[31] *Eight First Biographies of William Penn,* by William I. Hull, Swarthmore monograph No. 3, Swarthmore 1936, p. xiii; *Penn, a Topical Biography,* by William I. Hull, Oxford University Press, 1937.

[32] *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn,* by Thomas Clarkson; first edition printed in London, 1813, new edition in 1849; first American edition in 1814, followed by several others in the United States. The story of the painting is on p. 340 of the edition of 1822, p. 124 of the edition of 1849, which latter has as frontispiece a line drawing of the West picture. Clarkson writes a very interesting narrative, which will abundantly repay a reading.

[33] Mason L. Weems wrote a *Life of William Penn,* first published at Philadelphia in 1822, and republished several times. The first edition is quite rare, and references are to the edition of 1829. See pages 146-156 for the elaborate story of the Peace Treaty. Weems also wrote a *Life of Washington* and introduced the story about the cherry tree, which has since become an amusing but rather discredited legend.

[34] C. E. Vulliamy, *William Penn,* London, Geoffrey Bles Ltd., 1933, p. 186.

letter [35] from Benjamin West in London to his brother William in Pennsylvania. "I could not neglect so favorable an opertunity as this by Capt. Johnson [?] to send you the print of Wm. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsylvania. I have taken the liberty to introduce the likeness of our Father, and Brother of Reading, into the picture in the group of Friends that accompeny Wm. Penn, that is the likeness of our Brother that stands imediately behind Penn, resting on his cane. I need not point out the figure of our Father. I belive you will find some likeness of him in the print though they have all lost something of that when compeared with the original picture."

Another letter [36] not so well known, or so often quoted, was written about the Peace Treaty painting by Benjamin West on February 2, 1805, to W. Darton. This seems important enough to quote in full:

Sir Febr. 2nd, 1805

Indisposition for several days past deprived me the satisfaction of answer your enquiries respecting the portraits in the picture of the Treaty between Wm. Penn and the American Indians. When I painted the picture of that Treaty for the late Thos. Penn, every enquire was made to obtain portraits of those who accompanied his distinguished Father into the wilderness of North America; but without effect, except in the portrait of Wm. Penn—and for that I am indebted to the Medalion made in Wax by Silvinius Bevan—and the description given to me by my Father of Wm. Penns person.

The great object I had in forming that composition, was to express savages brought into harmony and piece by justice and benevolance, by not withholding from them what was their right, and giving to them what they were in want of, and as well as a wish to give by that art a conquest that was made over native people without sward or Dagder.

The leading characters which make that composition are the Friends—and Indians—the characteristicks of both have been known to me from my early life—but to give that Identity which was necessary in such a noval subject I had recourse to many

[35] The original letter, dated July 12, 1775, is preserved at the Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

[36] See *Pennsylvania Magazine,* vol. 50, pp. 247-248. There is no available identification of W. Darton.

persons then living for that Identity—and among that number was my honoured Father—and his eldest son, my half Brother Thos. West, and by possessing the real dresses of the Indians I was able to give that truth in representing their costumes which is so evident in the picture of the Treaty [.] Those were the principles, and my reasons in giving that picture of Wm. Penn Treaty to the civilized world.

To object in composing that picture—and the materials to give it truth I have above presented [?] and if they should be found by you to any way contribute to that information you are about to give in a Biographical History on Portraits they are much at your service.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours with friendship

W. Darton Esqr. B.W.

To explain the letters it is necessary to say a little more about the West family. West's father left England when a young man to prepare a new home in Pennsylvania. While on this mission his young wife died leaving an infant son, Thomas, who was brought up by the mother's people in England. Father West married again and had a number of children, but did not meet his first son until forty years later when visiting Benjamin in England. An artist regularly uses models, and for Benjamin West to use his step-brother and father is entirely natural.

The most detailed "identification" is contained in one of the series of *Quaker Biographies* published in 1909 by the Representative Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia (vol. i, facing p. 140). In this Horace J. Smith relates a "family legend" giving to five of the men in the painting names of those early associated with Pennsylvania history, and stating that the picture of the Indian mother was a portrait of West's wife. Unfortunately this "legend" was later printed on an advertising sheet[37] describing the Boydell-Hall print, and this has

[37] The exact wording on the sheet is:

Portraits in the engraving:
William Penn; prominent figure, hands outstretched.
James Logan; scroll in hand.
Thomas Lloyd; in long cloak.
Thomas Story; behind William Penn.
Father of Benjamin West; face between Logan and Lloyd.

been in circulation until recent years, thus adding to the confusion about the story.

Various historians have criticized West for not being more accurate in this painting, but apparently he took an artist's privilege in making an attractive and popular picture out of what was supposed to have happened some ninety years earlier and was fast becoming a legendary story. Living in London he had only boyhood memories to aid him for landscape, but the Indians and their characteristics remained vivid. Research libraries with pictures of period costumes were not available as now, so his ideas of early Quaker garb became distorted by what he currently saw worn.

Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia,*[38] in commenting on the picture, states that the houses in the background were not in existence at the time of the supposed treaty, but were in course of erection about ninety years later when West painted the picture. Some other authorities protest it is not even a good portrait of Penn, as he was not portly and middle-aged in 1682, but an athletic, energetic young man who could run races with the Indians. Still others insist that he did not wear Quaker garb at the ceremony but formal court dress,[39] and that the blue silk

Benjamin West; in dark clothes, leaning on box.
Wife of Benjamin West; in the guise of an Indian squaw, holding papoose.

This identification does not agree with Benjamin West's statement (in his letter to his brother, William; see note 35) that one of the figures was that of his half brother Thomas.

[38] John J. Watson (1779-1860), antiquarian, publisher, and financier of Philadelphia, began in 1820 to collect in a methodical manner the recollections of the "oldest inhabitants" of Philadelphia. His book was published in 1830, and is still regarded as a local classic, because in many instances it is the only source of historic information.

[39] Those wishing some amusement by noting the different versions of the peace treaty story might read a few pages from the following authors on William Penn:

Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn,* London 1813, i, 337-345.

M. L. Weems, *Life of William Penn,* Philadelphia 1822, pp. 145-164.

Priscilla Wakefield, *Brief Memoirs of the Life of William Penn, compiled for the Use of Young Persons,* 2nd edition, New York 1833, pp. 46-51.

sash [40] he wore that day is still preserved. What seems clearly to be the original sash can be seen in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, it having come from England in 1919 as a gift from Miss Marcelena Fassitt.

It may be useful to add one more piece of research made in connection with the Penn Peace Treaty story. In 1882 an article was printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (published quarterly by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania), by Frederick S. Stone on the subject, "Did the Treaty with the Indians take place in 1682 or 1683?" His conclusion is that the first recorded meeting between Penn and the Indians took place in May 1683. Then as to the place of meeting he says: "There is nothing that can be brought against it but the charge that it *is* a tradition, and upon the whole we think that there is as much reason to believe that Penn's Treaty was held at Shackamaxon as that the Pilgrims first set foot on Plymouth Rock."

THE BOYDELL-HALL ENGRAVING

IT IS probable that if photographs had been available in 1772 this article would not be written now, because without the photographic process copies had to be reproduced by hand; and hence many variations crept in. The first portraits by the Daguerreotype process did not appear until the middle of the next century; and while cameras were in general use by 1860,

John Frost, *The Life of William Penn, with a sketch of The Early History of Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia 1839, pp. 156-161.

Mrs. Colquhoun Grant, *Quaker and Courtier. The Life and Work of William Penn,* London 1907, pp. 139-145.

John W. Graham, *William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania,* London 1924, pp. 156-161; see also note p. 329.

Joseph H. Price and Stanley R. Yarnall, *William Penn,* Philadelphia 1932, pp. 45-49.

C. E. Vulliamy, *William Penn,* London 1933, pp. 176-187.

[40] For the full story of the blue silk sash and its descent from 1682 to 1919, when it arrived back in Philadelphia for permanent preservation in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, see the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* vol. 57, pp. 111-115. The note from Miss Fassitt suggests that the sash probably was made by Gulielma Maria Springett, William Penn's first wife. It is of sky-blue silk net, much like an English officer's military sash except for the color.

the use of the photographic method for making illustrations did not become general for several more decades. As will be seen later, engravings and lithographic processes—all requiring transcription by the artist's hand—were not entirely replaced by the photographic half-tone method until 1890 or 1900.

Two things gave this picture publicity and made it a popular item among persons of means and culture. It was the first pictorial presentation of life in America to be seen by many Europeans. It showed what the Indians looked like, their physique, how they dressed, methods of caring for their babies, their weapons. It showed something of the style of houses, and of plant life across the Atlantic. But most important, it was the second of Benjamin West's great paintings in which the background and clothes and various appurtenances of the different characters were portrayed with "historic accuracy." At least that was what everyone thought West presented—and no one questioned the matter for some fifty years. West's pictures were immensely popular. Observers stated that roads to the galleries were crowded. Twenty thousand persons were reported to have passed through to view one of his new productions.

People wanted to see both *The Death of General Wolfe* and *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians,* but both pictures, after exhibition, went to the private estates of the different purchasers. John Boydell [41] of London filled the need. He was a publisher of engravings, and was especially well known for his illustrated edition of Shakespeare published in 1802. On January 1, 1773, he issued a printed broadside advertising various items he had for sale, and the front page was devoted to an announcement of two large engravings from paintings by Benjamin West.[42] William

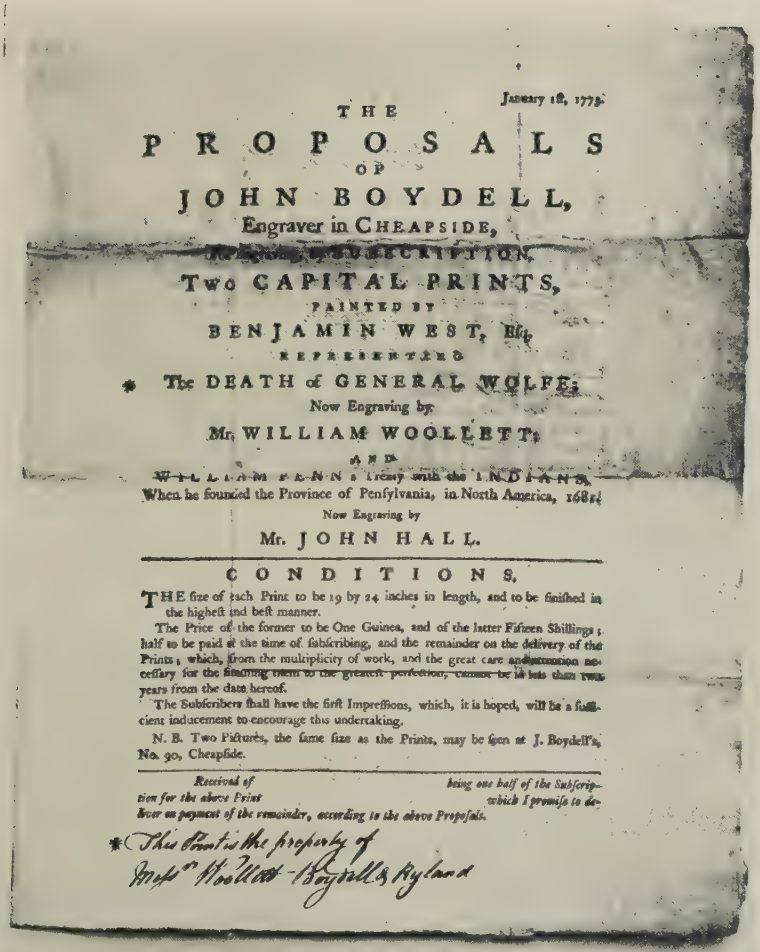
[41] John Boydell (1719-1804), besides being an engraver and publisher, was an art collector and a prominent citizen. He was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1790. His collection of engravings consisted of 4432 plates.

[42] See illustration opposite.

One of the original broadsides is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 11½ × 8½ inches, and reads as follows:

January 1st, 1773.

THE | PROPOSALS | OF | JOHN BOYDELL, | Engraver in CHEAPSIDE, | For Engraving, by SUBCRIPTION, | Two CAPITAL PRINTS, | PAINTED BY | BENJAMIN WEST, Esq. | REPRESENTING |



January 12, 1773.

THE

PROPOSALS

OF

JOHN BOYDELL,

Engraver in CHEAPSIDE,

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

Two CAPITAL PRINTS,

PAINTED BY

BENJAMIN WEST, Esq;

REPRESENTING

* The DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE;

Now Engraving by

Mr. WILLIAM WOOLLETT;

AND

WILLIAM PENN's Treaty with the INDIANS,

When he founded the Province of Pensylvania, in North America, 1682;

Now Engraving by

Mr. JOHN HALL.

CONDITIONS.

THE size of each Print to be 19 by 24 inches in length, and to be finished in the highest and best manner.

The Price of the former to be One Guinea, and of the latter Fifteen Shillings; half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of the Prints; which, from the multiplicity of work, and the great care and attention necessary for the finishing them to the greatest perfection, cannot be in less than two years from the date hereof.

The Subscribers shall have the first Impressions, which, it is hoped, will be a sufficient inducement to encourage this undertaking.

N. B. Two Pictures, the same size as the Prints, may be seen at J. Boydell's, No. 90, Cheapside.

Received of ____ *being one half of the Subscription for the above Print which I promise to deliver on payment of the remainder, according to the above Proposals.*

* This Print is the property of
Josh^a Woollett - Boydell & Ryland

Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Broadside: The Proposals of John Boydell, Engraver in Cheapside

Above: The hallmark on the Boydell-Hall plate of West's painting, "William Penn's Treaty with the Indians"

Left: The Boydell-Hall plate, now at Friends Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, still used for making prints

Woollett was to make the copy from the Death of General Wolfe, and John Hall [43] would engrave from William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. The size was to be 19 × 24 inches, and price for the former one guinea and for the latter fifteen shillings. One half the price to be paid on deposit and the remainder collected at the time of delivery, "which . . . cannot be in less than two years from the date thereof. The subscribers shall have the first impressions which, it is hoped, will be sufficient inducement to encourage this undertaking."

Both of these engravings were made and prints were sold far and wide. The Peace Treaty engraving is dated June 12, 1775, and there is every reason to think that John Hall spent two years and a half on the work,[44] for Thomas Penn, the owner of the original painting, lived until March 21, 1775, and Hall mentions him as the "late Thomas Penn." One cannot help wondering what Hall might have been paid for the job.

The DEATH of GENERAL WOLFE; | Now Engraving by | Mr. WILLIAM WOOLLETT: | AND | WILLIAM PENN'S Treaty with the INDIANS, | When he founded the Province of Pensylvania, in North America, 1681. | Now Engraving by | Mr. JOHN HALL. |

CONDITIONS. |

The size of each Print to be 19 × 24 inches in length, to be finished in | the highest and best manner.

The Price of the former to be One Guinea, and of the latter Fifteen Shillings; | half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder on the delivery of the | Prints; which, from the multiplicity of work, and the great care and attention ne- | cessary for the finishing them to the greatest perfection, cannot be in less than two | years from the date hereof. |

The Subscribers shall have the first Impressions, which, it is hoped, will be a suffi- | cient inducement to encourage this undertaking. |

N.B. Two Pictures, the same size as the Prints, may be seen at J. Boydell's, | No. 90, Cheapside.

Received of.....being one half of the Subscrip- | tion for the above print.....which I promise to de- | liver on payment of the remainder according to the above Proposals. |

[43] John Hall (1739-1797) was appointed historical engraver to George III on the decease of William Woollett (1735-1785). Hall made a number of plates for the Boydell collection.

[44] See illustration, p. 169. The complete wording of the inscription is given on p. 146.

Also it would be interesting to know how many subscribers there were, and how many prints were taken off the plate. One of the early prints was surely claimed by Benjamin West, for in the letter to his brother William in Pennsylvania, he mentions "sending you the print of Wm. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsylvania." This letter is dated July 12, 1775. Apparently West sent the print by the first boat after the prints were available.

The usual practice with engravings is to take off a number of prints and then destroy the plate, as the quality deteriorates seriously after the copper plate has been worn with use. John Boydell died in 1804 and his business was sold by lottery. Josiah Boydell, his nephew, also carried on an engraving and publishing business and made some of the Shakespeare pictures for his uncle. Did he do anything with his uncle's collection of fine engravings? What became of the accumulation of copperplates of the West paintings as well as of those for the great Shakespeare edition? Were they all destroyed in the usual course of time?

At least the Penn Peace Treaty picture survived, for in the 1890's Robert Pearsall Smith found it in England, identified it as the original copperplate engraving of the West painting, and bought it for £30. No prints had been taken off it for a long space of time. He thought the plate should be exhibited at the coming World's Fair at Chicago, and that prints should be sold for the benefit of the proposed Peace Congress, plans for which were under way in the United States.

Robert's brother, Horace J. Smith, was also interested in this plan, and wrote a letter on April 14, 1893, about the proposal to Alfred H. Love, president of the Universal Peace Union.[45] In this is stated that Robert wished to contribute to a fund to place a copy in each schoolhouse in Pennsylvania.

The letter from England was pinned into the minutes of the Universal Peace Union, and the records show that Robert Pearsall

[45] An active and internationally known peace organization in Philadelphia from 1868 to the death of the founder, Alfred H. Love, 1913. The secretary, Arabella Carter, and a small committee carried on for some years more, and at her death in 1929 all known remaining papers were transferred to the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, where they are now an important part of the Jane Addams Peace Collection.

Smith's offer was accepted, and that money came in from sales. More information is available in the columns of its monthly periodical *The Peacemaker,* published at Philadelphia from 1882 to 1913. Here we learn of the peace booth at the Chicago Exposition of 1893, and among the items listed on exhibit is the copperplate engraving. Copies were advertised for sale on India paper, size 27 × 40 inches, at $5.00, or $7.50 if framed ready for hanging. Herbert Welsh of Philadelphia was the first purchaser named. The picture was advertised in *The Peacemaker* at intervals until about 1897.

Then the Spanish-American War came and peace activities were at a low ebb for many years. Mention of the Peace Treaty engravings gradually faded out of the columns of *The Peacemaker.* Apparently the plate remained at the engraver's [46] most of the time, for at the death of the last of the firm, March 3, 1909, it went to the home of Albanus L. Smith of Germantown, a nephew of R. Pearsall Smith of England. Much discussion took place as to what to do with it, and it was finally decided to make some few more impressions and then destroy the plate.[47] The 1910-1911 crop of Quaker brides and grooms received a number of framed prints of this edition for wedding presents, and for years these hung in the parlors and halls of Friends' homes of Germantown, Philadelphia, and vicinity.

However, the order for destruction was apparently not carried out, for on October 22, 1909, Elizabeth P. Smith [48] deposited a plate at the Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia, with the understanding that prints might be sold from it.[49] The last impressions were made on November 22, 1932. Thirty-five prints were made from the plate by a Philadelphia firm of engravers.

Inspection of this plate gives one the impression that it is the original Boydell-Hall engraving; but it now has a face of polished white metal instead of copper. According to engravers' practice,

[46] George Lewis and Sons, Engravers, 140 South Third Street, Phila.

[47] Authorities state that about 1000 good prints can be secured from a copperplate engraving.

[48] Sister of Robert Pearsall and Horace J. Smith, and an aunt of Albanus L. Smith.

[49] Copies can still be bought there for $3.00.

copperplates are sometimes electroplated: that is, they are given a steel face[50] to make them last, and this was apparently done to the Boydell-Hall engraving. No one seems to know whether the process took place recently in this country, or years ago in England. There is a definite rumor that there is more than one "Boydell-Hall plate," as at least two print authorities insist that there was still another peace-treaty plate "kicking around New York" within recent years.

The plate at the Friends Book Store carries in the middle of the back the name Whittow & Large. Information from the British Museum[51] states that this was the name of a London firm of manufacturers during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, so the authenticity of this plate seems settled.

One needs only to compare other copies of the Peace Treaty painting to see how painstakingly John Hall executed his commission from John Boydell. Every detail is a faithful reproduction—the facial expression, the feathery foliage, the cloud effects, all of the vague figures in the dark shadows—but with one difference: *the whole composition is in reverse.*

In checking later versions and copies of the West Peace Treaty painting, it is of importance to note the position of the most conspicuous objects. In the original West painting the large tree and the Indian mother and papoose are on the *right* of an observer looking at the picture. In the Boydell engraving they are on the *left.*

There has been much debate as to why the Boydell-Hall prints are reverse in design from the original West painting. Present-day engravers insist that it is quite possible to copy a picture in such a way that the plate is in reverse but the final print is the same as the original picture. There are no records available for us to know the opinion of John Hall, but we know that he

[50] Carl Zigrosser, curator of Print Department, Philadelphia Museum of Art, tells in his book *Fine Prints Old and New* (New York, Covici-Friede, 1937), p. 39, that the first steel face was put upon a copperplate in 1857. The statement is made that with the new knowledge of preserving a plate an indefinite number of good prints can now be secured.

[51] Letter from British Museum, March 15, 1941, to the writer, on file in the Jane Addams Peace Collection, Swarthmore College.

engraved the picture on the plate just as it was—with details so accurate that one can examine both copies by the hour and marvel at the faithful reproduction even though on a much smaller scale. The letters of the inscription with coat of arms at the bottom of the plate, however, are engraved in reverse, so that they read clearly on the print.[52]

At first thought it would be supposed that John Hall would have gone to the Penn estate at Stoke to work on the engraving; but the record of a "small painting made for the plate" suggests that West made a replica of the large original picture purposely for Hall to copy. This was of convenient size so Hall could have it in his own home or studio. This painting was sold at public auction in 1791, and thus disappeared into private hands; it was not brought to light till 1929 (see above, p. 109; see illustration, p. 168). It was thus necessary for other artists to copy prints rather than the original painting.

The Boydell-Hall print was undoubtedly the source of the many later versions of the peace-treaty story, and this will explain why in some pictures the trees and Indian mother and child are on the right and in others on the left. Some engravings are certainly a copy of a copy of the painting, and perhaps the process of copying has been extended once or twice more. One can readily believe this on examining the Baillie and Currier colored lithographs, for the positions change from right to left and back again as new plates had to be made to supply the demand for further editions.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a print made before the plate was fully engraved, in which the picture is still incomplete; and it is interesting to lay this, and a so-called "old print," and one of the prints pulled from the steel-faced plate in 1932, side by side for detailed examination. The older prints can be identified by the paper and also by a certain yellow tint. Good copies are scarce enough to be distinctly a collector's item, and to command a good price. There is another series apparently from this same plate printed on a light-weight soft cardboard

[52] Note that Pennsylvania is spelled with only one "N"—a mistake that was copied by several later engravers. The Royal Academy listing in 1772 makes the same mistake, although West always used the double letter.

which breaks and crumbles at a touch. The ink is black and heavy, like wax.

An interesting comment[53] on the engraving, published in England in 1888, also suggests that both good and bad impressions were on the market at that time:

> The popularity that this work [i.e. the painting by West] attained is no doubt largely due to the very excellent engraving of it by Hall, who was at the head of his profession; and any impressions of the plate in which the squirrel is clearly discernible on the tree deserve careful preservation as a valuable copy of this work.

OTHER PRINTS

Engravings, Aquatints, Mezzotints, Lithographs, etc.

A CAREFUL CHECK on known prints of the Peace Treaty picture by West shows that thirty-one engravers and fifteen lithographers in England, the United States, Italy, Germany, France, and Mexico, have made reproductions.[54] There are also a considerable number of prints of unkown workmanship. None of these attempted so large, so pretentious, or so perfect a copy of the original painting as did Boydell and Hall. Most of the artists made variations, and some were so strikingly different from either the painting or the Hall engraving that one can only suppose that the change was deliberate. The finest piece of work, in fact the only one comparing with that of John Hall, was by an artist who merely signed the initial D*, supposed to have been a Frenchman and to have made his engraving about 1790. Many of the smaller prints were intended for book illustrations, and some of the examples now seen in print collections have obviously been torn from old books.

The first copy probably was made by a French artist, J. M. Moreau, 1780, for the purpose of illustrating some book. At least such is suggested by the work of four engravers—Villerey,[55]

[53] *Biographical Catalogue,* published by Friends' Institute, 13 Bishopsgate Street without, London, 1888, p. 841.

[54] The Perry Picture Company, Malden, Mass., has half-tone reproductions of the original painting for sale at 1c and 2c each. They carry a copyright, but how this picture, which has been reproduced for over a century and a half in many countries can now be reserved under copyright rules, seems a little strange.

[55] See illustration, p. 180.

de la Rue, Grave, and Lardy, whose similar prints are still available. Three show the houses and tree on the right, and one on the left.

All through the nineteenth century the Penn Treaty picture was copied and reproduced in various sizes and styles, first by the various copperplate methods and then by lithograph from special limestone blocks, some in black and white and some touched up with color.

In 1849 Thomas Clarkson's book *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of William Penn* was issued in a new edition, this time under the auspices of several publishers—one in London, one in Manchester, two in New York and one in Philadelphia. Most of the copies carry as frontispiece an engraved version of the West Peace Treaty painting, always in reverse, similar in design, with same inscription, but with different artists' names.

In 1857 the Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* through its Carrier's Association, presented a copy to every subscriber as a New Year's greeting. The engraver was apparently given a free hand and chose to use only the center section (in reverse), with some alterations. William Penn has lost all his companions but two, and the tree has grown so aged that most of the branches and leaves have gone. But these sprightly verses make amends:

> How beautiful the scene portrayed above,
> A treaty, framed in Justice, Truth and Love;
> Our City's Founder and the peaceful "Friends"
> Stoop to no subterfuge, to gain their ends;
>
> While with unswerving confidence, around
> Their Indian brethren occupy the ground.
> This incident, a maxim may afford,
> And prove *our* PENN was "mightier than the sword."

The Press ran another similar greeting sheet dated January 1, 1864, with the heading "The Carriers of THE PRESS to their Patrons" at the top. The picture used was the "Bowen Series of Historical Sketches No. 1." Five pictures connected with William Penn are arranged around a center illustration of the West Peace Treaty (in reverse), reproduced by the lithograph process and tinted yellow, making a very poor comparison with the handsome *Ledger* engraving of 1857. *The Press* issued some-

thing similar, using a smaller engraving of the treaty picture, in 1877.

Another curious series of changes from the original painting was apparently started with an early engraving (in reverse) by Oliver Pelton. He emphasized a second ladder against the uncompleted house in the background, omitted a rowboat in the river, gave the boy on the treasure chest a vivid striped waistcoat, and played up the Indians under the trees until they look like a group of rubber dolls. At some later date Selmar Hess, a publisher of New York, issued another but much inferior engraving (also in reverse) of the same size and shape and with the identical changes. Then George P. Brown, Boston, decided to include "Penn's Treaty with the Indians" in the *Famous Picture Series,* and issued No. 2250 (in reverse), apparently having made a half-tone cut from an engraving closely resembling Pelton's. A publishing company [56] in Philadelphia specializing in maps and pictures for school use followed the same plan with another engraving of no special merit. One cannot help wondering why, when the original painting was on this side of the Atlantic, educational publishing companies having presumably an interest in accuracy did not secure an actual photograph of the painting.

There is evidence that several medals have been struck off at intervals during the nineteenth century bearing scenes of the peace treaty. The earliest is a frontispiece in volume ii of Clarkson's *Memoirs of . . . William Penn,* Philadelphia edition of 1814. The engraver, Murray, presented two circles 2⅛ inches in diameter, and in one of them is a clear line drawing of the center portion of the West painting; this has perhaps been taken from some medal. This design appears in various places at a later date without the name of Murray and merely called "William Penn Medal." There are also other small pictures in circles showing Penn talking or shaking hands with an Indian. These, too, may have been copied from medals.

The centennial anniversary of the West painting was celebrated 1871. At the request of several interested Friends, Joseph Har-

[56] The McKinley Publishing Co., 1021 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, issued a half-tone 4¼" × 6⅞" (in reverse), as one of ninety pictures for their *Coulombs Illustrated Workbooks for United States History.* Copy in Quaker Collection, Haverford College.

rison, the owner of the original painting, then in Philadelphia, permitted several copies to be painted. One of these was presented by Jonathan Thorne of New York City to Samuel M. Janney,[57] Omaha, Nebraska, then acting as Administrator in the Indian Bureau, to be hung in his office "for the Indians to see when they call." [58]

The same donor gave another copy to Swarthmore College and the presentation was made April 1, 1871, by his representative George Truman. Edward Magill gave the acceptance speech on behalf of the Corporation and Board of Managers of Swarthmore College.

A letter was read from Jonathan Thorne, in which he said: If these paintings shall, in any degree benefit the Indian cause in which the President of the United States has called upon our Society to aid him, or, if the young student at Swarthmore can become early impressed with the fact, that the spirit of mutual kindness and justice are prerequisites in the basis of a contract to be kept in perpetuity, the pictures will have answered all I hoped for.[59]

This celebration at Swarthmore was commemorated by the publication of a special forty-page printed book illustrated with carefully hand-mounted photographs and small pictures. Among them are a two-by-three-inch sepia photograph of the Peace Treaty and a small vignette engraving, both of them in reverse and quite obviously copies of the Boydell engraving and not of the original painting which they were dedicating.[60]

[57] Samuel M. Janney, historian, author of *Life of William Penn* and various Friends' historical works, was one of several Friends appointed by President U. S. Grant at the beginning of his administration in an effort to take the whole Indian problem out of politics and put it on a humanitarian basis. All efforts to trace this painting have failed.

[58] Letter from Samuel M. Janney, March 8, 1871, to George Truman, printed in the book of *Addresses and Remarks* commemorating the Swarthmore ceremony.

[59] Letter from Jonathan Thorne to George Turner, March 6, 1871, printed in the book of *Addresses and Remarks.*

[60] A footnote states that the booklet was printed at the *Bond of Peace* office, 403 North Sixth Street, Philadelphia; perhaps Alfred H. Love had something to do with the affair, as he was president of the Universal Peace Union and his monthly news bulletin was then issued under the name of the *Bond of Peace.* Also one of the illustrations was taken from the impressive membership certificate of the Universal Peace Union.

By the 1890's the photographic process of making reproductions by chemicals on copper or zinc plates had been perfected, and engravings and fine art-lithography almost disappeared from commercial use. To list the many half-tone reproductions of this West painting in books and pamphlets and periodicals would serve no useful purpose here. Until very recent years, however, most of the illustrations were made from the Boydell-Hall engraving rather than from the original painting, and strangely, no one seemed to be disturbed over the reverse printing or the wrong label.

A story of special interest concerns the use made of the peace treaty picture by the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia. From about 1876 to 1935, the West Peace Treaty was a feature illustration on their insurance policies, the picture being variously drawn, and reproduced either by engraving or lithography, but always reversed from the original. From various sources the company has secured interesting prints of either William Penn or the Peace Treaty. In recent years a mural of William Penn was painted by N. C. Wyeth for the first-floor corridor of the Philadelphia office on South Independence Square. In the Board Room is an iron back for a fireplace bearing an unusual design of the Penn Treaty with the Indians.

THE TREATY PICTURE USED IN DECORATION

WHEN JOHN PENN, grandson of the Founder, came to Philadelphia in 1783 he established a home at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets. A young man of only twenty-three years, and unmarried, it would seem that he would scarcely want the responsibilities of an establishment, but he had come from a large house in England where entertaining was bountiful, and he would naturally be expected to live in a somewhat similar manner in Pennsylvania. He stayed for five years and then returned to England. His household effects were disposed of by public auction on Monday, May 26, 1788, and brought £564.0.4. Among the "Bed and Room Furniture" are listed: "bed curtains, pattern William Penn's treaty with the Indians; three window curtains to match ditto, with cord, tassels, and screws." [61]

[61] For inventory of the household effects of John Penn as offered for sale May 26, 1788, see *Pennsylvania Magazine,* vol. 15 (1891), pp. 373-375.

Again one can speculate and wish that a bit more information were available. How did it happen that young Penn slept with his grandfather's pictures draped around him? Was this design made up into chintz to please the Penn family? Did John Penn buy the material in Europe, or from John Hewson of Philadelphia, or some other colonial print maker [62] in order to encourage a new industry? Also it would be interesting to know who actually made the plate—copied from the engraving which Hall had completed only a few years earlier.

Even the story of printed chintz is filled with romance and comedy.[63] It seems that up to about 1700 ladies wore silk dresses, or else plain-colored cotton or linen. Then some enterprising spirit conceived the idea of printing various designs on cotton and linen by means of colored inks and an engraved copperplate. This disturbed the silk makers because they felt it would interfere with their business. The English Parliament was petitioned to do something about it, and on December 25, 1722, passed a decree that henceforth printing on calico and linen was forbidden. Those who persisted in indulging their vanity for gay print dresses were arrested and punished. As late as 1768, two ladies were fined five pounds each by the Mayor of London for wearing the forbidden fabrics. Evidently the females continued their protests with increasing vigor, for in 1774 the ban on printed goods was lifted and from then until the present English prints hold an important place in dress and household decoration.

At least two patterns of the Penn Treaty design are known to have been made for use on linen, and both of them definitely

[62] See illustration, p. 185.

See further *Pennsylvania Magazine,* vol. 52 (1928), p. 104, for account of early colonial linen printers. John Hewson arrived in Philadelphia in September 1773, and devoted himself to the manufacture of prints of all kinds. At the end of the Revolution, on July 4, 1788, a Grand Federal Procession took place, and in the twenty-ninth section Hewson had a float with eight horses showing the entire printing process, with his designer from London at work, and his wife and four daughters dressed in cotton prints. Hewson's shop was on Gunners Run, near the Treaty Elm.

See also *Antiques,* vol. 13 (Jan. 1928), p. 46.

[63] See *Antiques* for May 1927, for the "Story of Toile de Jouy." Also *Painted and Printed Fabrics,* Clouzot and Morris, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1927, plate LXXXII.

related to the West painting. Whether they were made in France, where the process originated, in England, or by "linen printers" established in Philadelphia as early as 1774, is not known. Several fragments have survived to the present day, printed in mulberry, brown, or red, on a yellow background, and mostly now framed under glass like a bit of precious tapestry. Once the material must have been common and plentiful, for one lot of the peace-treaty print became a bedquilt and still another lot is known to have been used to make bed covers! Could any of these once have been in the John Penn house?

A generation later Thomas Green of Fenton, England,[64] hearing there was a good sale in the United States for dishes with historic designs, opened a pottery to make chinaware. What could appeal more to the housewives of that wild and savage land than the story of Penn's peaceful treaty with the Indians? That was the pattern he used entirely during the whole course of his business from 1830 to 1859, on every dish from soup to nuts, including a platter big enough for any turkey—in black, red, green, brown, pink, gray, and blue.[65] Whether the artist copied the West painting or the Hall engraving, he evidently thought some improvements were necessary, for he changed the houses to pergolas and the trees to waving palms, and added some snow-capped peaks to the background, while men and women are garbed in strange Oriental robes. Each dish had a special pattern designed to fit its particular size and shape. William Penn is in every one of the thirteen known patterns, with a varying number of other characters, and they all change their positions and activities. If each picture were supposed to be true, what complications would be added to the problem of creating a consistent historic story!

Somewhere about the middle of the last century, candle screens and lamp shades of Parian ware became popular, and some manufacturer used the West peace treaty as one of his patterns with results that are astonishingly beautiful. Parian ware is made of hard translucent china paste, and these pictures were copied

[64] See Mrs. Ellouise Baker Larsen, *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China,* New York, Doubleday-Doran, 1939, pp. 173-174.

[65] See illustration, p. 183.

in relief. When placed in front of a light or a windowpane, every detail of light and shadow shows through the dull white material. The only identification is the letters G A S, which may be the maker's initials or may mean that the object is a gas lamp shade.[66]

From about the same period have come also hand-blown glasses showing crude pictures of Penn standing by a tree, and an Indian with what might be called an olive branch.

Tin trays were much-used articles of household ware early in the last century. Sometimes elaborate designs or landscapes were painted on them, and one at least is known to have been decorated by an unknown artist with the central portion of the West peace-treaty picture.

About 1850, cast-iron stoves for heating and cooking came into general use. Some of the parts were customarily decorated with designs of different kinds. One has been presented to the Jane Addams Peace Collection bearing a crude pattern of the West peace-treaty picture, but so far no clue to the maker or what the plate was intended for has been discovered.[67]

The Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 drew exhibits from manufacturers from all parts of the world. A Quaker firm of weavers in Ireland [68] sent a piece of linen tapestry showing William Penn's treaty with the Indians, and after some years it was presented to Pacific College, Newberg, Oregon, where it hangs in the main corridor.

As has been mentioned under "Prints," there have been some medals struck off at different periods commemorating the peace treaty. The very first gift to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania after it was founded in 1824 was such a medal. On one side is a bust of Penn and the dates "b 1644 D 1716." On the other, Penn standing with a cane in his left hand is shaking hands with an Indian. The inscription reads: "By deeds of Peace, Pennsylvania settled 1681."

The Penn treaty episode has also been illustrated by means of statuary. Unfortunately there is no record of where the items

[66] See illustration, p. 182.

[67] See illustration, p. 182. Gift of Mr. Francis D. Brinton, West Chester, Pa., to the Jane Addams Peace Collection.

[68] J. N. Richardson Sons and Owden, Ltd., Belfast, Ireland.

might be found now. All that we know is a brief news report in the *Village Record,* of West Chester, Pennsylvania, for Tuesday, June 1, 1858, stating that at the coming exhibition of the Chester County Horticultural Society one of the curiosities to be seen would be "a splendid group of life like statuary, consisting of over twenty statuetes; representing Penn's Treaty with the Indians beneath the old elm tree." William Penn is described as being easily recognizable because of the blue scarf which he wore on that memorable occasion.[69]

A recent letter from England gives the information that the picture of Penn's Treaty with the Indians has been used on an English banknote.[70] This was issued by the Sparkes Bank of Exeter, England, and the date shown on the copy held is given as December 5, 1823.

In the Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania, is a series of papers dated 1818-1823 in which a tavern owner at Russellville, Upper Oxford Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, petitions the Court for a license to operate a place of entertainment known by the sign "Penn's Treaty with the Indians."[71] The sign itself has disappeared; but such things have

[69] The clipping from *The Village Record,* West Chester, Pa., Tuesday, June 1, 1858, reads as follows:

PENN'S TREATY.—The Executive Committee of the Chester Co. Horticultural Society, have great pleasure in announcing that amongst other curiosities to be seen at their coming exhibition they will present to the notice of their visitors a splendid group of life like statuary, consisting of over twenty statuetes; representing Penn's treaty with the Indians beneath the old elm tree. The figure of William Penn is easily distinguishable from its likeness to the Philadelphia statue, and also by the blue scarf which the old Friend wore on that memorable occasion. The committee also hope to introduce to their friends that rare and wonderful bird standing over six feet in height, and entirely unknown to Wilson, Buonapart, and Audubon, the Chester County Flamingo.

[70] See illustration, p. 186. Letters to the writer on file in the Jane Addams Peace Collection, August and September 1941. The Exeter banknote is held by Mrs. Malcolm Sparkes, of Friends School, Saffron Walden, England, whose husband was great-great-grandson of Thomas Sparkes of Exeter, England.

[71] One of these papers reads as follows:

May Term 1819 | To the Honorable John Ross Esquire President and | his associate Judges of the Court of Common | Pleas now holding a Court of General | Quarter Sessions of the Peace in and for | the County of Chester in the State of Pennsylvania | The Petition of the Subscriber |

a way of turning up in attics or farm cellars, and this may likewise eventually come to light again.

The Norristown-Penn Trust Company, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, is currently using a letterhead carrying a small engraving of Penn's peace treaty with the Indians.[72]

Strangest of all perhaps is a letterhead of the State of Pennsylvania[72] used by the Secretary of the Commonwealth during the administration of Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker (January 1, 1903 to January 1, 1907), and bearing a reproduction of the West painting (in reverse). A copy has been presented[73] to the Jane Addams Peace Collection, but no duplicate has been found at the State Capitol or in the State Library and Museum, Harrisburg, or in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN WELL-KNOWN PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

Dimensions are given in inches (unless otherwise specified), the vertical dimension first.

1. Original painting, oil on canvas, 75½ × 108¾, by Benjamin West, a beautiful and impressive picture six by nine feet in size, signed and dated 1771, lower left. Property of Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Phila., on loan to National Museum, Independence Hall, Phila. Large trees and Indian mother and child at right side. Penn faces to the right. Colors clear and bright. Birds in the sky and stone markings on house faintly visible. Date stone on the house, marked $\frac{W\ P}{1681}$, not very clear. Center man kneeling has a green jacket. Robe of Indian mother is purple-red and not striped.

   Independence Hall, Phila.

Respectfully Sheweth— | That for sometime past he | has kept a House of public Entertainment in The | Township of Upper Oxford in The County of Chester | aforesaid | —That his present License is now about | to expire He therefore prays That the Honorable | Court may be pleased to grant him a new | License for the ensuing Year | And Your Petitioner | will pray | Jacob Hopple | N.B. the sign of my tavern —— | is "Penn's Treaty with the Indians." |

[72] See illustration, p. 188.

[73] Gift of Mr. Francis D. Brinton, West Chester, Pa.

2. Painting, oil on canvas, 17 × 23. Small replica of the above, sold at Christie's, London, Feb. 26, 1791 for £25.4.0, consigned by Richard Price Jones, owner. In the sale catalog it is identified as "a small picture painted for the plate by Benjamin West," which is understood to mean for the use of John Hall while making his engraving.

   Careful checking of this painting with the original in Independence Hall shows an astonishing degree of identity except for size: it is less than a quarter as large as the original, in linear dimensions. The background, the shrubbery, the squirrel on the tree trunk, all details of the costumes, including the clear soft colors and the bits of embroidery, show a similarity which one would expect to achieve only by the use of photography, though minute differences can be noted, as in the foliage. Even the expressions on the faces are faithfully reproduced.

   Art Collection of the Percy A. Rockefeller Estate.

3. Drawing on paper, in pencil, 207 cm long by 136 cm high (54½" × 82½"), given to the Cooper Union, New York City, by Leverton Harris, M. P., in 1915, badly foxed. Probably the same drawing as listed in *Belle Assemblée* as a "Drawing of Penn's Treaty" on paper hanging in the gallery of West's home.

   Cooper Union, New York.

4. Painting, oil on canvas, 75 × 108. Trees, Indian mother and child on right. Presented to the Mechanics Institution, Derby, England, about 1844 by Joseph Street of Derby (according to notes from Friends House, London). It is claimed that this is "an original sketch by Benjamin West," and according to letters from the curator, S. Laughton, "it was valued at £105 for the purpose of insurance by an art expert, many years ago. . . . The painting has been restored and varnished on more than one occasion, and at present time the artist's signature cannot be discovered. Penn wears a brown suit. Two other Quakers are in brown suits and two in green overcoats. The central figure kneeling wears a scarlett jacket. Birds in sky and date stone on house cannot

be distinguished but the squirrel on tree trunk can be faintly seen." War conditions prevented securing a photo.

In the reading room of the Mechanics Institution.

5. Painting, oil on canvas, 40 × 59. Reversed. Originally owned by Mr. Walter de Curzon Poultney of Baltimore, it was bequeathed to his niece Miss Ellin Curzon Pleasants. Mr. Poultney claimed "it was signed and dated 'Benjamin West 1798'." According to records of the Maryland Historical Society, this picture has been in Baltimore since 1830.

   On loan at the Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.

6. Painting, oil on wood, 22 × 29½, artist unknown. Enclosed in a frame of wood and glass paneling; picture reversed, and thus presumably copied from an engraving; central figure of man kneeling has a green-and-white satin coat. There are no ladders to the house. Clouds are conspicuous. Picture dark, varnish badly cracked.

   Mr. Henry F. Dupont, Winterthur, Delaware.

7. Painting, oil on canvas 38 × 52, by the American artist Edward Savage (1761-1817). Now the property of the Philadelphia Electric Company, the interest of the Company in the picture coming from the fact that the Delaware Generating Station adjoins the Penn Treaty Park, the traditional site of the treaty. Painting reversed. Center man kneeling has a red jacket.

   Executive offices of the Philadelphia Electric Company, 10th and Chestnut Streets, Phila.

8. Painting, oil on canvas, 34¾ × 46, artist unknown. A copy in which the original composition is reversed, indicating that it was painted not from the original by Benjamin West in 1771, but from one of the several engravings, most probably the line engraving by John Hall. Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mrs. John W. Wright, September 28, 1891. Picture is so dark it is difficult to see all the details still plainly visible in the West painting. Center man kneeling has a red jacket.

   Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

9. Painting, oil on canvas, 27 × 35, artist unknown; restored, badly stained, cracked and marred by canvas seams. Property of Philip B. Wallace; purchased in England by Newman McGerr. Picture reversed. Colors soft, well blended, similar to West's. Details on houses omitted. There are no ladders, no birds in the sky, no squirrel on tree trunk. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a photograph of this painting (presented July 5, 1923, by H. L. Carson), made before restoration.

   Mr. Philip B. Wallace, 332 Smedley Street, Phila.

10. Oil painting on canvas by Edward Hicks (1780-1849). Exhibited at Downtown Gallery, New York, March 1941, as an example of American folk art, and illustrated in *PM's Weekly*, March 2, 1941. Most, if not all, of the Hicks paintings carry a scene from the West peace-treaty painting; this picture is practically a complete copy of it, though with many changes. It is reversed, and thus no doubt was copied from a Boydell-Hall print. There is no Indian mother or papoose. The houses are completely changed, some being placed across the water; and one of the ships has become something like a Spanish galleon. Penn and his companions are quite similar to corresponding figures of West's design, but Indians looking like totem poles are creations of Hicks's own imagination. Edward Hicks was an American Quaker artist who devoted his attention almost entirely to peace scenes of different kinds. Some twenty-five different canvases are known portraying "The Peaceable Kingdom" with lions and lambs, and children and ferocious wild beasts playing together. One of these, showing Penn and the Indians in the background, received considerable publicity after its purchase by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

    The American Folk Art Gallery, 43 E. 51st Street, New York.

11. Painting, oil on canvas, 35½ × 47½, framed in curly maple with a gilt inner band. Picture is reversed. William Penn is shown with only two companions standing. Nine Indians only; no Indian woman and child; no chest with accompanying young men; no rowboat; one ladder. The bolt

of cloth is highly ornamented with a figured design; there are two Indians under the large tree, which shows one trunk, sparsely leaved and showing against a light background.—Dr. William Ball, West Chester, Pa., claims this to be an authentic West picture, painted in the U. S. and taken to England as a preliminary sketch, and then returned to the U. S. about 1870.

Dr. William Ball, West Chester, Pa.

12. Water color on paper, 28 × 40, artist unknown. Trees and Indian mother and child on the right. Colors mostly tans and yellows, details on houses and trees and faces not completed.—This is supposed to be the painting presented to Swarthmore College April 1, 1871, by Jonathan Thorne of New York. A replica was given at the same time to Samuel M. Janney, then Indian Commissioner stationed at Omaha, Nebr. For full account see 36-page commemorative booklet, illustrated with pasted pictures, containing "Addresses and Remarks," printed in Philadelphia 1871. Inscription on frontispiece: "The Original picture by Benjamin West, painted at London 1771, now in possession of Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia," who had permitted it to be copied.

Swarthmore College, Pa.

13. Painting, oil on canvas, 25 × 30, artist unknown. Definitely a copy of West's painting, and yet with so many changes one cannot help wondering what the artist could have had in mind. The houses and trees at the right are like West. The Indian mother on the right has lost all of her beautiful embroidered robes and looks cheap and common with a shawl-wrapped baby in her arms. There are just six white men and eight Indian chiefs. Penn carries a roll of paper in his hand. There are no central kneeling figures by the chest in the center of picture. The bolt of cloth, red and blue in color, is on the ground. The whole picture is painted in browns and yellows, with red and green feathers in the Indian headdresses. The canvas on the back is old and stained, and shows faintly printed the name of what is apparently the

firm which furnished the canvas ready for use: "Prepared by | Ed^{wd} Dechaux | New York | ."

Thornton Sowly, 34 East Walnut Lane, Germantown, Phila.

THE PEACE TREATY MOTIVE FOR DECORATION

14. *Linen Design No. 1*

West's picture "Penn's Peace Treaty with the Indians" used as a repeat pattern on linens for curtains or bedspreads. Printed from an engraved copperplate. Trees and Indian mother and child are on the right. It is possible that a Boydell-Hall print was used as a pattern, in which case the chintz imprint naturally would be twice reversed, matching the original painting. The tree trunks here are twisted and obviously royal palms instead of American elms, and the leaves are distinctly tropical. No ladder is visible. Houses are similar to those in the painting. This design is known to have been printed in red and mulberry. Illustrated in Clouzet and Morris, *Painted and Printed Fabrics,* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1927, Plate lxxxii.

Arthur J. Sussel, Phila., 41 × 31, red on yellow: 2 pieces, initials T G in lower left corner; Goodspeed's, Boston (see illustration in their monthly bulletin, *The Month at Goodspeeds* for April 1940, vol. xi, No. 7), 17 × 26½, mulberry; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 21 × 26½, mulberry on white; Cooper Union Museum, New York, 33 × 25½, mulberry on white; Yale University, Garvan Collection, 33 × 28½, red on white; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 21 × 47½, brown on white.

15. *Linen Design No. 1*

Bedquilt, 76 × 101½, hand-stitched. Under side white cotton, top side chintz with peace-treaty picture, brown ink, same design as above, with repeat patterns about 32 × 27. Three panels 26½ × 76, with 2½ repeats in each panel, and half-width piecings on each side.—Gift from James Hillhouse, Sachem's Wood, New Haven, Conn., to Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Philadelphia Museum of Art.

16. *Linen Design No. 1*
Bedcover, 108 × 104, peace treaty, design No. 1, printed in brown ink. Three panels with half-width piecings on each side. Three edges bound with tape and one edge with folded hem. Property of Foulke and Long Institution, Germantown, Phila., inherited from Dr. John Foulke, a resident of Philadelphia in late eighteenth century.

17. *Linen Design No. 1*
Bedcover, 87 × 95, brown ink, in good condition. Each strip 30 inches wide, 3½ strips sewed across, bound with linen tape on all four edges.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

18. *Linen Design No. 1*
Bedcover, in light yellow-brown ink, 60 × 96. Four strips 24 inches wide are sewed together, bound with linen tape on all four edges.
Mr. Henry F. Dupont, Winterthur, Delaware.

19. *Linen Design No. 2*
West's picture, "Penn's Treaty with the Indians." Similar to design No. 1, except that picture is on a slightly smaller scale. Again the whole print is faced right, suggesting that a Boydell-Hall print was the source for the design. The tree trunks are small with a few conventional leaves. Ladder is visible against the unfinished building. House on left plainly shows blocklike stones and plaster between. Two sailing ships.
Mr. Francis D. Brinton, West Chester, Pa., 35½ × 25, brown; Arthur J. Sussel, Phila., 33½ × 26, brown.

20. *China*
Set of Blue Staffordshire China, 61 pieces, owned by Mr. Henry Paul Busch, 1006 Spruce Street, Phila., having been bequeathed to his mother in 1894 by Edward Strickland. Made by Thomas Green, of Fenton, England, each piece bearing a picture of William Penn and the Indians. There are a total of thirteen different designs, using William Penn and a varying number of companions and Indians, and sometimes the chest, treaty scroll, and gift articles. Pictures on large

dishes are sometimes repeated reduced in size on smaller ones, but most of the pictures have been drawn to fit the size and shape of the particular dish.

According to Mrs. Ellouise Baker Larsen, in *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China,* Doubleday-Doran, 1939, Thomas Green operated the Minerva Works in Fenton from 1830 to 1859. The only American view he produced during this period was the Penn Peace Treaty with variations. The mark is a printed scroll on which are the words "W. Penn's Treaty T. G." Towers of buildings are seen above the scroll and many ferns surround it.

Larsen lists designs on four plates, a platter, a dish, and a cup plate, which he numbers 403-409. All of these patterns except 405 and 409 are found in the Busch set of china of sixty-one pieces. Detailed descriptions follow:

No. of Pieces	*Designation and Size*	
		PLATTERS
1	20 × 16	Penn and one Indian standing at left. Attendant kneeling with chest in center. Two Indians kneeling with chest at right.
1	17½ × 14	Penn and attendant standing, another attendant kneeling beside chest on right. Two Indians standing, another attendant kneeling beside another chest. Squaw in background.
1	13½ × 11	Penn standing in center. Attendant with scroll seated on chest at right. One Indian standing, one Indian seated at left.
1	11 × 9	Penn standing, attendant kneeling at left. One Indian seated, one Indian standing, leaning on staff at right. (Cracked.)
1	10 × 8	Penn and attendant standing at left. Two Indians seated at right, one Indian resting in background.
		TRAY
1	14½ × 11	For large soup tureen. Same as platter 13½ × 11.
		TUREEN SETS, SMALL WITH DOUBLE HANDLES
2	9½ × 5, 4 high	Penn and attendant standing at left. Squaw in background center. Two Indians seated at right. Picture on both sides of each tureen.

		LADLES
2	7" long bowl 2¾" long	Picture in bowl. Penn standing at left with cane. Indian seated at right. Both handles broken and repaired.
		TRAYS
2	8½ × 6¾	Penn standing in center. Attendant seated at right. Indian standing at left. In background woman leaning on elbow in evening dress. The arrangement of figures is similar to that on the tureen cover, but the arrangement of the background makes it distinctive.
		LIDS
2		Penn standing in center. Attendant seated at right. Indian standing at left. This picture appears on each lid.
		GRAVY BOATS: *Pitchers*
2	7½" long 4¼" high	The picture which appears on both sides of each gravy boat is similar to that on the tray of the small tureen. It has the same arrangement of figures but the background is different.
		Trays
2	6¾ × 4½	Picture appears to be identical with that on the platter 10 × 8. (One tray cracked.)
		VEGETABLE DISHES
2	10 × 8¼	No covers; picture is same as on platter 11 × 9.
		VEGETABLE DISHES
2	Base 12½ × 9½	One with cover, one without. Penn standing; attendant kneeling, holding cloth at right. Two Indians standing at right.
		COVER
1		Picture appears on each side. The arrangement of figures is very similar to the platter 11 × 9. The background at the left is different. Another example, brown, owned by Miss Frances H. Landreth, Bristol, Pa.
		PLATES (Diameter given in inches)
13	10¾	Penn, scroll in hand, and attendant standing at right. Two Indians standing at left. Group of Indians (7 at least) seated in background.
12	9½	Penn, attendant standing left. Indian standing at the right, woman kneeling with chest in the center.

11	8½	Arrangement of figures similar to that of cover for the vegetable dish. Background different.
2	7½	Penn standing center. Attendant seated at right. Indian standing, woman leaning on elbow at left.

21. *China*

White, with picture of Penn Peace Treaty in deep rose: 6 saucers, and cups with no handles; 1 saucer, and cup with handle. Picture in the saucer has one tree in the background, picture on outside of cup is about the same but shows three trees. No mark, and no information as to manufacturer or date. The design more nearly resembles the West painting than does the Thomas Green pattern.

Mr. Henry F. Dupont, Winterthur, Delaware.

22. *Other known pieces of Peace Treaty china:*

Platter, 14 × 17, brown, picture like that on platter 17½ × 14, owned by Mr. H. P. Busch; another owned by Mrs. Caroline Andrews, Noank, Conn.

Plate, 7½, blue. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Plate, 6¾ × 8, brown. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Plate, 8⅜, pink. Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

Plate, 8, green; also, 10, brown. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Plates: 10, brown (2 pieces); 10, green (1 piece); 12, pink (2 pieces). Mr. Henry F. Dupont, Winterthur, Delaware.

23. *Candle screen* (or lamp-shade section)

Made of hard translucent china, white, generally known as "Parian Ware," 6½ × 8¼. Excellent reproduction of West's painting, in reverse.

Inscription:

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians.

On the back, in small block letters, G A S (and sometimes 10 or 50).

Mounted on marble stand with brass frame, Lydia W. Rhoads, 1525 School Lane, Germantown, Pa., Mr. John W.

Cadbury, Moorestown, N. J., Mr. Robert B. Haines, Wyck, Germantown, Pa.; with brass frame and chain as a transparency, Mrs. Joshua C. Smith, 940 East Washington Lane, Germantown, Pa.; with no frame, 2 holes in upper corners, Mrs. Harold E. Gillingham, 432 W. Price St., Germantown, Pa.; with metal frame, letters on back "G A S 50," Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

24. *Tin tray*

Outside measurements, 22 × 30½. Picture shows center part only of West painting. According to label pasted on back this was painted in England 1830 or earlier. Earliest owner was George Middleton Justice, who lived at 354 North 4th Street, Phila., in 1830.

Caroline L. and Marion T. Justice, Montgomery Ave., Narberth, Pa.

25. *Handblown glass*

Aquamarine color; 4 inches high. Figures show slight resemblance to William Penn standing by a tree, and an Indian with an olive branch in his hand.

Philadelphia Museum of Art.

26. *Iron Plate*

Size, 9⅜ × 7¼. Probably an ornamental plate for a cast-iron stove. Design shows William Penn and three companions and five Indians. Tree, mother, and *two* children on the right. Man on box at left, and another man carrying a box on his shoulder. Pointed wigwam at upper right. This is plainly a copy of the West painting, though with several variations.

No inscription on front. Back of plate is smooth, finished with these numbers, 678 N E P. There are two screw holes in the center near left and right borders.

Presented to Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., by Mr. Francis D. Brinton.

27. *Tapestry*

Size, 7½ × 12 feet. Hung in corridor of main building of Pacific College, Newberg, Oregon. Woven of linen and silk,

at Belfast, Ireland, for exhibition at the Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, in 1876, and given later to Pacific College.

Inscription in scroll at bottom: The only treaty never ratified by an oath and never broken.

Penn and one companion have three-cornered hats, long coats, knee breeches, stockings, and buckled shoes. Two Indians, one standing and one seated on a log, are dressed in long robes, with eagle feathers in their hair.

Pacific College, Newberg, Oregon.

28. *Post Card*

Recording the bicentennial of the founding of Pennsylvania in 1682; size 5¼ × 3⅛. Black and brown ink on white card. Picture of Penn in upper center; at bottom, a small lithograph, 2 × 3, in good detail, of the West painting. Reversed; Indian mother and child and the trees are omitted.

Inscription:

Obverse: Penn Bi-centennial | 1682-1882 | Will^{m} Penn | The Founder of Pennsylvania | Born Oct. 13th 1644 | Died July 30th 1718. | Penn's Treaty with | the Indians. | The Hatch Lith. Co. New York. | *Reverse:* Compliments of | A. C. Yates & Co. | The leading | Clothing House | of | Philadelphia | Ledger Building, | Chestnut & Sixth Streets. |

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

29. *Letterhead*

On white paper, 10¼ × 8. In upper left corner a half-tone cut, 2¼ × 3¼, of West's painting, almost complete; reversed; with title PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS, directly underneath.

Inscription:

Pennsylvania

OFFICE OF THE

Secretary of the Commonwealth

HARRISBURG

The letter is addressed to Mr. C. H. Howell, and is a conventional reply to an inquiry about some money payment. It is dated August 9th, 1905, and is signed W. H. Pennypacker.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

30. *Letterhead*

On white paper, 11 × 8½. At top center a small line cut 1½ × 2, showing William Penn with hands outstretched, two companions, and three Indians, plainly copied from the Hall engraving of West's painting.

Inscription: Penn Treaty.

Illustration is used on the letterhead of the Norristown-Penn Trust Company, of Norristown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Design has been used since about 1936.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

31. *Needlework in silk*

A piece dating from 1763, representing Penn's Treaty with the Indians.

The only knowledge we have about this is the listing given as above, in the Memorial booklet published for the Great Central Fair, Philadelphia, in 1864. This description is given with two numbers, 4 and 5, so apparently there were two items. No name is given for the owners. If these two items could be located now, they would make an extremely valuable contribution to this study of the peace-treaty legend. If the date given—1763—is correct, these items might be considered the earliest pictorial representation of the peace-treaty episode, antedating West's picture.

32. *Statuary*

Lifelike figures, over twenty in number, representing Penn's treaty with the Indians, in miniature size. Displayed at the exhibition of the Chester County Horticulture Society, West Chester, Pa., in 1858, these statuettes seem to have disappeared. Penn is described as wearing a blue silk scarf.

33. *Tavern Sign*

Tavern sign, with picture of Penn's treaty with the Indians used as a sign on a country inn in Upper Oxford Township, Chester County, Pa., about 1819-1821. Probaby painted in oils on wood, perhaps about 30 × 36 in size. Although possibly destroyed years ago it may yet be discovered in some attic or private collection.

34. *Banknote*
Issued by the Sparkes Bank of Exeter, England. A small engraving is in the center of the note, reproducing the central part of the West picture.

CHECK LIST OF PRINTS

Arranged approximately chronologically. Dimensions given in inches (unless otherwise specified), the vertical dimension first. Small upright prints can generally be considered as book illustrations; many of these carry no artist identification.

35. Engraving by John Hall, 16¾ × 23¼.

Inscription:

Benj: West pinxit. *John Boydell excudit 1775.* *John Hall sculpsit.* | WILLIAM PENN'S Treaty with the INDIANS, when he founded the *PROVINCE* of PENSYLVANIA in *NORTH AMERICA* 1681. | *To the Proprietaries of the Province of Pensylvania,* &c. &c. | *This PRINT, Engraved from the Original Painting belonging to the late Thomas Penn Esquire.* | *Is respectfully Inscribed by Their obedient humble servant.* | *JOHN BOYDELL.*
Published *June 12th 1775 by JOHN BOYDELL* Engraver in Cheapside *London.* |

Trees and Indian woman and child at the left.

Old prints from the Boydell-Hall plate are on hand at Historical Society of Pennsylvania (3 copies, one very dark on broken cardboard); American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Kennedy and Co., New York; Robert Fridenberg, New York (with deckle edge); Robert Fridenberg, New York (hand-colored by James Hall of Elizabeth, N. J., d. 1925); McKlees Galleries, Phila.; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Phila.; prints are also hung on the walls of many Quaker homes and institutions.

Prints from the original plate are still available at Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch St., Phila., Pa. Older prints can often be bought from art dealers.

Early prints of the Boydell-Hall engraving, made before the plate was finished, are classified into three groups, or "states," as they are called:

I, picture incomplete; proof made before any inscription has been engraved: copies at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

II, picture completed; no lettering; the coat of arms of the Penn family has been added: copy at Yale University Art Gallery.

III, picture and coat of arms completed; letters only in outline: no copies located.

36. Engraving by Villerey, 5¾ × 3½.

Inscription:

J. M. Moreau le Jeune Del. 1780. Villerey Sculp. | Penn achette des Sauvages le Pays qu'il veut occuper. | Liv XVIII |

Trees and houses on right; picture is crowded together and Indian mother and child are omitted. Scroll has the word "Pensilvanie" printed on the side.

The painting by Moreau, from which this engraving is made, is enough like West's to show that the latter certainly was used as a guide. It is perhaps the first engraving of the West picture to be made after that of Boydell and Hall.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

37. Engraving by F. Lardy, 5⅜ × 3½.

Inscription:

F. Lardy, Direx | Penn achette des Sauvages le pays qu'il veut occuper |

Very similar in design and lettering to the Villerey print, but lighter and with less detail. Trees and houses on right. Scroll has the word "Pensilvanie" printed on the side.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

38. Engraving by de la Rue, 5¾ × 3½.

Inscription:

de la Rue Sc | Penn achette des Sauvages le pays qu'il veut occuper |

Trees and houses on the left. Picture is crowded together and Indian mother and child are omitted. Scroll has the word "Pensilvanie" printed on the side.

Kennedy & Co., New York; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

39. Engraving by T. E. Grave, 5¾ × 3½.

Inscription:

T. E. Grave Sculps |

Page torn from a book; picture reversed from that of de la Rue, with houses and trees on the right. Scroll has "Pensylvani" printed on the side.

The engravings by Villerey, Lardy, de la Rue, and Grave are all similar, and are derived from Moreau (see No. 00). They show their origin from the West painting, but with adaptations to fit a vertical design for a book illustration. The tree is only a feeble branch. As the pictures alternately reverse, it is probable that each successive artist copied the print of his predecessor.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

40. Engraving by D*, 16⅝ × 11⅞.

Inscription:

Benj. West Pinxit D* Sculp. | GUILLAUME PENN TRAITE AVEC LES INDIENS | Etablissant la Province de Pensilvanie dans l'Amerique Septentrionale en 1681. |

This fine engraving is not reversed. It is an excellent reproduction, though only the center portion is used.. House and branches of big tree are shown; Indian woman and child (at right) are moved to front of two seated warriors. Corner of chest is shown but no bows and arrows. Only the tree tops show at right.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Old Print Shop, New York; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with notation in pencil on back as follows:

This French engraving of West's Treaty Tree is copied from the duplicate of the painting in the National Museum in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, which is in the Mechanics Institute, Derby, England. The Derby painting is in reverse of the one in Philadelphia and it is engraved thus in the French engraving. Which of the two paintings is the original one is not now known.

R. Pearsall Smith
44 Grosvenor Road
Westminister, London, 1895.

41. Aquatint by G. Gallina, 6⅛ × 8⅝.

Inscription:

G. Gallina S |

In black and white, or colored by hand; no tree; house at left, and also mother and child. Almost no foliage back of the houses; two chests but no men on them. At the top of the print is the number 41. Probably made in France about 1800.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; black-and-white copy, no extra inscription at bottom; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, colored copy, with no extra inscription; Kennedy & Co., New York, a hand-colored copy, with this inscription written in pencil at the bottom: "Guillaume Penn jetant les fondements de Philadelphie."

42. Engraving, 4 × 6.

Inscription:

Guglielmo Penn che compra dai Selvaggi la terra |

Very light, with faint lines; torn from a book. At top of picture are the words "Stati Uniti" and a plate number "22." Tree trunks, but no foliage; Indian mother and child at left.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

43. Line engraving by Murray, in a 2⅛" circle.

A miniature picture in reverse of the center portion of the West painting, with the words "Unbroken Faith" at upper part of circle. Just outside the circle, the words: "From West's Treaty Engraved by Murray." Just underneath is another circle containing a picture of a hill of corn, a bow, and a pipe, with the date 1682. The two circles presumably represent the obverse and reverse of a medal.

Inscription at top of page in script:

In commemoration of the peaceful settlement of Pennsylvania & of the friendly welcome with which the first settlers were received by THE NATIVE INDIANS.

This was used as frontispiece of vol. ii of Thomas Clarkson's *Memoirs of . . . William Penn,* Philadelphia edition, 1814. This same series of circles—side by side instead of one above the other—is also known with the words "William Penn Medal" underneath. According to the American Numismatic Society, New York, there was a Penn medal struck off early in the nineteenth century, bearing this design.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

44. Engraving, 3⅝ × 3⅝.

Inscription:

Engraved for the Minor's Pocket Book 1815 | Penn's Treaty with the Americans |

Some of the figures are copied directly from the West painting, notably the Indian in the foreground with the peace pipe. There are no houses and no river, and the most conspicuous tree is a banana tree, at the extreme left.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

45. Engraving, 3¾ × 1½.

Inscription:

Penn's Treaty |

This is a fragment—perhaps part of a page from a book. Penn stands with a scroll in his hand with the words "Treaty 1686," and shakes hands with an Indian bearing a pipe and wearing a skin robe. Another Indian stands between them. Two doves rest in the branches over their heads.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

46. Engraving, 4⅛ × 6.

Illustration from *Costume* by Ferrario, a book of various scenes of America and the world.

Inscription:

Guglielmo Penn, alla fondazione di Filadelfia | A. Sasso inc: | 1823 | America Vol. II Tav. 41. |

There are no big trees, no figures on the chest, no rowboats; and the Indian tents look like small wooden houses. Picture reversed.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., black and white; Fridenberg, New York, colored.

47. Engraving by Perkins and Heath, 4 × 5½.

Inscription:

B. West, Del. Perkins & Heath S. | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, | When he founded the Province of Pennsylvania in North America. 1681. | Patent hardened Steel Plate | Published by Harvey & Darton | 55 Gracechurch Str^t. |

Picture is reversed and birds are very conspicuous. Perkins was born in Massachusetts in 1766, died in London in 1849. He went to England in 1818 and formed a partnership with Heath in his engraving work and invented a process for hardening steel plates and making pictures from them.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; New York Public Library; Free Library, Phila., Print Dept.; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 2 copies, and one proof pulled before lettering was added.

48. Line engraving, 3½ × 5, vignette.

Inscription:

William Penn's Treaty with the North American Indians [with reference at lower right to page 82]. Frontispiece from *The Life of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania* (author unknown), printed for James Robertson & Co., Edinburgh 1828.

Picture very light, reversed, center portion only. Penn has two companions, and two men are with the chest of goods. Four Indians.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

49. Engraving, 1½ × 2½.

Inscription:

Pennsylvania | Penn's Treaty with the Indians |

Picture reversed. Apparently an illustration from some small book. Much changed from the West painting, but the trees, and a house, remain on the left. Penn has two companions; only four Indians are shown.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

50. Mezzotint by H. Dawe, 6 × 7¾.

Inscription:

B. West Pinx. H. Dawe Sculp | Wm. Penn's Treaty with the Indians |

Published 1832 by Ackerman; picture reversed.

Friends House, London; Robert Fridenberg, New York.

51. Engraving by G. Stodart, 3 × 4⅜.
Inscription:

Engraved by G. Stodart. | Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

The engraving is reversed. It is evidently an illustration from some book or magazine. There are fewer Indians than in the West painting. The trees are mostly bare trunks, and a flock of birds in the sky is noticeable. Studart is thought to have been an English engraver who flourished about 1835.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

52. Mezzotint, 21 × 16.
Inscription:

Painted by H. Inman—J. Sartain. | William Penn | From the original picture painted for the Society for commemorating the landing of William Penn on the shores of the Delaware October 1682.

Portrait of Penn, with river, Treaty Tree, and Indians in background. Henry Inman (1801-1846) was born in Philadelphia in 1801. He had a large practice as portrait painter; his *William Penn* hangs in Independence Hall. John Sartain (born in London 1808, died in Philadelphia 1897) came to America in 1830; he was proprietor of *Campbell's Magazine,* editor of *Sartain's Union Magazine.* His reputation was made on his mezzotint engravings, among them *William Penn after H. Inman.*

Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa.

53. Engraving, 3 × 3½.
Inscription:

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. | See page 47. |

Frontispiece of Priscella Wakefield, *A Brief Memoir of the Life of William Penn, Compiled for the Use of Young Persons,* 2d ed., New York 1833.

Picture reversed; shows center portion only, with houses and trees at the left. No river; no Indian mother and child. In a footnote quoted from Clarkson's *Penn,* Penn's companions are identified as Col. Markham on his right and friend Pearson on his left.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

54. Engraving, 2⅛ × 2⅛.
Inscription:

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

Illustration from John Frost, *The Life of William Penn,* Philadelphia 1839, p. 160.

Reversed. Trees on left, also mother and child. Houses shown but no river. In the text, Markham and Pearson and articles of

merchandise are mentioned, and Penn is described as presenting to the chief a parchment to be preserved for three generations.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

55. Engraving by W. French, 5 × 6¾.

Inscription:

Benj.ⁿ West W. French Sc. | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

Also another copy on a larger sheet of paper bearing these words: London, J. Hagger.

Trees lack some foliage, and some dress details are missing. A squirrel has been added to the trunk of the main tree. Reversed.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.: both copies.

56. Engraving by O. Pelton, 4¾ × 7.

Inscription:

B. West P.R.A. O. Pelton | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians |

Oliver Pelton was an American engraver (1799-1860). In this picture there is no rowboat on the river; the second ladder shows plainly and a group of Indians is clearly outlined against the foot of the big tree. Reversed.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

57. Engraving, 4$\frac{2}{16}$ × 6$\frac{15}{16}$.

Inscription:

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. | Selmar Hess, Publisher, New York |

This engraving is almost a duplicate of that by Pelton except for slight change in size and a deeper contrast in lights and shadows. Reversed.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

58. Engraving by I. W. Moore, 3¾ × 5½.

Inscription:

B. West, Del. I. W. Moore, Sc. | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, | When he founded the province of Pennsylvania in North America 1681. | Published by E. Little and Brother, Philadelphia. |

The engraving is reversed.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

59. Engraving by G. G. Smith, 2¾ × 2⅜: line vignette.
Inscription:
G. G. Smith Sc |
The engravings by Moore and Smith are the only Peace Treaty pictures out of 3438 listed by Stauffer in his book *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel,* 1907.
No copy located.

60. Engraving, colored, by J. Madden, 9⅞ × 13.
Inscription:
Painted by B. West | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians in North America 1681 | Eng.d by J. Madden | Dublin, Published by Le Petit, Henry Street |
Kennedy & Co., New York.

61. Line engraving colored by hand by J. Rogers, 4½ × 5½.
Inscription:
Painted by B. West R. A. engraved by J. Rogers | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians | (Pennsylvania 1681) |
Vignette, center scene only, one tree at left, with scant foliage. Chest, with no men, moved to front of picture.
Kennedy & Co., New York.

62. Engraving, 1 × 3.
Inscription:
Penn's Treaty with the Indians |
No buildings, one large tree at the left. The engraving is a small border illustration on a map of the eastern United States of about 1850. An inscription on the map reads: "The Map drawn & Engraved by J. Rapkin. The illustrations by J. Marchant & engraved by J. Rogers. J. & F. Tallis, London, Edinburg, and Dublin."
Robert Holton, Essex Falls, New Jersey.

63. Engraving by Bradshaw and Blacklock. 3⅜ × 4⅝.
Inscription:
William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, when he founded the province of | Pennsylvania in 1681. | Bradshaw & Blacklock Sc. Manchester. |
Frontispiece of book, *Memoirs of the Public and Private life of William Penn,* by Thomas Clarkson. New edition 1849, published by Joseph Scattergood, Philadelphia, Friends' Book Store, Arch Street, and several other publishers. Picture reversed, extremely light, mostly in outline, with almost no shadows. Two ladders plainly shown.
Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

64. Line engraving by Nosworthy & Lewis, 3⅜ × 5⅛.
Inscription:

Nosworthy & Lewis 19 Coleman St. Bank | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, when he founded the Province of | Pennsylvania in 1681 |

Picture is reversed and similar to the Bradshaw & Blacklock design, but outlines are filled in, shadows are supplied, and ladders omitted.

Frontispiece of 1849 edition of *Memoirs of . . . William Penn* by Thomas Clarkson, published by Joseph Scattergood, Friends Book Store, Arch Street, Philadelphia, and several other publishers.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., has book and separate copy of engraving.

65. Line engraving by Macnin, Lewis & Bohm, 3⅜ × 5⅛.
Inscription:

Macnin, Lewis & Bohm, 78 Coleman St City | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, when he founded the Province of | Pennsylvania in 1681 |

Picture is exactly the same as that signed by Nosworthy & Lewis. It also is used as a frontispiece to the 1849 edition of *Memoirs of William Penn* by Thomas Clarkson, published by Joseph Scattergood, of Philadelphia, and others.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

66. Engraving, 3¼ × 4¼.
Inscription:

Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

Illustration opposite page 101 of *The Life of William Penn* (author unknown), published by Lindsay and Blakiston, Philadelphia 1849. Picture reversed, with alterations: no river, tepees instead of houses, no mother and child.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

67. Engraving by J. C. Armytage, 4¾ × 7.
Inscription:

B. West P.R.A. J. C. Armytage. | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

Good copy, trees on the right, no rowboat, no figures on second ladder; cloth of Indian mother is striped.

Friends House, London; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., has a copy with lettering at bottom: James S. Virtue, London and New York.

Also used as illustration in a book *Discourse Delivered in the North Reformed Dutch Church in New York August 1856,* by

Thomas De Witt, published by the New York Board of Education of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, 1857.

Copy of this book in New York Public Library.

68. Engraving, 11 × 15.

Advertised as follows in the *Wayside Magazine,* Wilmington, Del., vol. iii, no. 5, 1875:

Penn's Treaty with the Indians.—A fine steel engraving, size 11 × 15, executed by one of the first engravers of Philadelphia, from West's celebrated painting. It is beautiful in design and finish, and as commemorative of a most important historic event, it is especially interesting in view of the approaching CENTENNIAL. It is worthy of a place in every parlor and art gallery in the land. . . . A copy will be given to every yearly subscriber to *The Wayside Magazine* who sends 10 cents extra to cover mailing and postage.

Swarthmore College has copy of the *Wayside Magazine* but the engraving has not been identified.

69. Engraving, 2⅝ × 4.

Inscription: (none).

Frontispiece of William Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers,* with a memoir by James M. Brown, of Virginia, n. p. (probably Philadelphia), 1857. Plate loaned by Messrs. H. Copperthwait & Co. of Phila., 1854.

Picture much mixed up. No river; tree and Indian mother in center.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

70. Engraving, 2¼ × 3.

Inscription:

Guillermo Penn preicando a los indios |

Illustration opposite page 60 of H. Matamoros, *Memorias de Guillermo Penn.* Imprenta de la Sociedad de Amogos, 1879.

Probably printed in Mexico. Picture only slightly resembles the West painting.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

71. Engraving, 3⅞ × 5⅜.

Inscription:

Wm. Penn's Vertrag mit den Indianern |

Illustration facing page 91 of book *Leben und Wirken William Penn's,* by W. I. Mann, Reading 1882.

The West picture in reverse. Book written in German and printed at Reading, Pa.

72. Line engraving, vignette, 3¾ × 5¾.

Inscription:

Penn's Treaty with the Indians under the Elm Tree at Schackamaxon |

Tree on the right, but it has no leaves. River and ships are missing. The white men are sitting on kegs. Penn is in a velvet suit. The bolt of cloth is printed goods with large plaid design.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

73. Engraving, vignette by J. & F. Tallis, 1 × 4.

Inscription:

Penn's Treaty with the Indians | J. & F. Tallis, London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. |

No houses. The tree trunks have no branches; river and ships missing. Reversed. Fragment cut from a large sheet.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

74. Engraving, 4¾ × 7¼.

Inscription:

Painted by B. West F. R. A. Engraved by H. B. Hall | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians | Published by Samuel Walker, Boston. |

This is a very good copy of the original painting in reverse, except one canoe is missing. H. B. Hall is an American engraver (1808-1884).

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Kennedy & Co., New York; Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; Free Library, Philadelphia.

75. Engraving, vignette, by S. Allen, 2¼ × 4.

Inscription:

S. Allen, Sc | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

Picture is clear and sharp, and is a good reproduction of the West painting. Noticeable are four sailing ships, a flock of birds in the sky, and one ladder. Reversed.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Friends House, London.

76. Engraving by Albert Rosenthal, 23 × 28.

Inscription:

Albert Rosenthal 1882 |

Printed on white muslin; trees and Indian mother and child are on the right.

Arthur J. Sussell, Phila.

77. Line engraving, 4¾ × 3⅜.
Inscription:
William Penn |
The pictures bears little resemblance to the West painting; but it shows a tree, a chest, some Indians, and two white persons in Puritan costume.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

78. Engraving, Illman and Sons, 10⅛ × 9⅛.
Inscription:
William Penn [facsimile of his signature] | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians |
The West painting, in reverse.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

79. Engraving, Illman and Sons, 16¼ × 12¼. (Same picture as above but on a large sheet.)
Inscription:
William Penn [facsimile of his signature] | This Justly Celebrated Treaty was formed in the year 1682; under the Large Elm at Schackamaxon; now Kensington, Philadelphia. Engraved and printed by Illman and Sons. 211 Arch Street. |

How beautiful the scene portrayed above,
A treaty, framed in Justice, Truth and Love;
Our City's Founder and the peaceful "Friends"
Stoop to no subterfuge, to gain their ends;
While with unswerving confidence, around
Their Indian brethren occupy the ground
This incident, a maxim may afford,
And prove *our* PENN was "mightier than the sword."

Robert Fridenberg, New York.

80. Engraving, Illman and Sons, on sheet 16⅞ × 12¾.
Inscription:
William Penn [facsimile of his signature] | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. | The Ledger Carrier's Annual Greeting | to their subscribers, New York 1857. | Engraved & Printed by Illman & Sons. 211 Arch Street. |
There follow the two verses above.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Free Library, Phila., Print Department, 2 copies; Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

81. Engraving: small, oval vignette.
Inscription, underneath:
Penn's treaty with the Indians. |
"We are met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, | so that no advantage is to be taken on either side, but all to be open- | ness, brotherhood and love."—*William Penn.* |

This was used as center illustration on certificates of membership of the Universal Peace Union, from about 1870 to 1913. Picture reversed, finely executed; shows center portion of West painting in detail. A cut-out of this engraving is pasted in the book of *Addresses and Remarks on the Presentation of Copy of Picture of William Penn's Treaty with the Indians at Schackamaxon, Philadelphia, to Swarthmore College, Fourth month 1st, 1871.*

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

82. Engraving by R. A. Muller, 3½ × 5.

Inscription:

R. A. Muller Sc | The original by Benjamin West in the National Museum, Philadelphia.

Frontispiece of two booklets entitled *Story of the Peace Treaty,* by Charles S. Keyser, Philadelphia 1882, one of 14 pages and the other of 100 pages, giving records of different treaties and sales between Penn and the Indians and the various commissioners, from records on file at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Archives, etc. West painting in reverse.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

83. Engraving by J. Banister, 4½ × 6¼.

Inscription:

Engraved by J. Banister | The Original by Benj^{n} West | Will^{m} Penn's Treaty with the Indians 1682 |

Picture is reversed; flock of birds is very clear. There are two figures on the roof of the unfinished house, and the squirrel shows on the tree. In some prints the engraver is spelled *Bannister.*

New York Public Library; Kennedy & Co., New York; Friends House, London; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which also possesses a copy with heading "Sartain's Magazine."

This engraving was used as frontispiece of vol. ii of Watson's *Annals,* 1857 edition. The same picture, with the engraver's name spelled *Banister,* was printed on a card 9½ × 12 and finished with inscription: "Annual Greeting of the Carriers of the Press, 1877." Copies in possession of Philip B. Wallace, 332 Smedley St., Phila., and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

84. Engraving by Lambert Alpigini of the E. A. Wright Co., Philadelphia, 1913, 2¼ × 5.

Used at the top of the insurance policies of the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia from about 1913 until about 1934, first as an engraving and then lithographed. An excellent copy of the original painting but reversed as was the Boydell-Hall engraving.

Mr. E. A. Wright, 3rd, says, in a letter of March 15, 1939:

The only reason we can find for the fact that the picture is in reverse is that the photograph supplied us must have been the same way. There is no advantage to the engraver in making the thing backward.

Mr. Alpigini learned his trade with us, being taught by my grandfather, Mr. E. A. Wright.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; Free Library of Philadelphia, Children's Department: on a separate sheet, bearing the E. A. Wright firm name.

This engraving was used by Gimbel Bros., Phila., for their 1940 "Merchandise Bonds."

LITHOGRAPHS

85. Lithograph, 3¼ × 4⅞.

Inscription:

Treaty Tree |

Apparently an early lithograph, crude and poor in design. One ship, no figures on chests, no Indian mother and child. Only two houses, and both are finished. Tree on left. Torn from a book.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

86. Lithograph, black and white, by Thomas Fairland, 1835, 12 × 16⅞.

Inscription:

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsylvania in North America. | 1681. | After the Original painting by Benj.ª West | Drawn on stone by Thomas Fairland | London William Darton & Son 58 Holborn Hill 2nd month 9th 1835 | Printed by Graf & Sorst |

Picture reversed. Flock of birds conspicuous.

Friends House, London; Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., with margin and inscription removed.

87. Lithograph, colored, Kellogg and Thayer, 8 × 12½.

Inscription:

When he founded the Province of Pennsa. 1661 | The only treaty that never was broken | Kellogg & Thayer |

No copy located.

88. Lithograph, colored, 8 × 12.

Inscription:

Wm. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsilª. 1661 | The only treaty that never was broken. | Published by James Baillie, 87th Street near 3rd Avenue New York. | 227 |

Trees and Indian mother and child are on the right. Baillie's lithographer obviously copied the Boydell-Hall engraving and thus again reversed the picture. The inscription is of interest as it was duplicated, even to the date 1661, by Currier and Ives.

Kennedy and Co., New York; Mr. Francis D. Brinton, West Chester, Pa.

89. Lithograph by N. Sarony, hand-colored, 8¼ × 12 (Peters #803).

Inscription:

Lith. & pub. by N. Currier, 2 Spruce St., N. Y. | W^m^. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Penns^a^. 1661. | The only treaty that never was broken. |

Baillie's lithograph was undoubtedly used as a model and thus the strange date was continued and also the picture reversed again, with trees, mother, and child appearing on the left.

Kennedy & Co., New York; Yale University Art Gallery.

90. Lithograph, hand-colored, 8 × 12⅜ (Peters #804).

Inscription:

Lith & pub. by N. Currier, 2 Spruce St., N. Y. | W^m^. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Penns^a^. 1661. | The only treaty that never was broken. |

A much cruder drawing, with many details omitted, and the picture again reversed and now in the same position as the original painting, with trees, mother, and child on the right.

Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.; Kennedy & Co., New York.

91. Lithograph, hand-colored, 8¼ × 12 (Peters #805).

Inscription:

N. Currier. | W^m^. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Penns^a^. |

Trees and Indian mother and child are on the right. The inscription about "the only treaty never broken" is omitted, and there are slight changes in the picture.

No print located.

92. Lithograph, hand-colored, 8¼ × 12.

Inscription:

Lith. & Pub. by N. Currier. 152 Nassau Street cor. of Spruce, N. Y. | W^m^. Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsy^a^. 1661 | The only treaty that never was broken. |

Trees and Indian mother and child are on the right.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

For reference see Harry T. Peters, *Currier & Ives, Printmakers to the American People,* New York, Doubleday, Doran 1929, vol. i, p. 234; and Jane Cooper Bland, *Currier & Ives, Manual for Collectors,* New York, Doubleday, Doran, 1931. Peter's book is popularly known as Peter's Catalog of Currier & Ives, and in it are listed three designs of the William Penn Peace Treaty with the Indians, nos. 803, 804, and 805.

The explanation about the various versions might be hazarded thus: Curriers were large-scale producers of lithographs, more interested in quantity than in quality. N. Sarony, a noted lithographer, copied the Baillie picture for Currier and reversed the design. When the Sarony lithograph stone wore out, a less skilled artist was used three times to copy a print from Sarony, and each time made some variation and not as good a reproduction as the original; and he turned the picture back again to the original position with the trees and mother and child on the right.

93. Lithograph, colored, by Joseph Myers & Co., 14¼ × 10½.
Inscription:
London, Joseph Myers & Co. |
Broadside presenting historic episodes in settling Pennsylvania, and the later monument in Kensington which marked the supposed spot of the Peace Treaty in what is now the Penn Treaty Park. The center section shows Penn with three companions and four Indians. At the top of the plate is a picture of Penn and his coat of arms, and the inscription: "Virtue, Liberty, and Independence."
No copy located.

94. Lithographed, colored, by H. R. Robinson, 16⅝ × 23¼.
Inscription:
William Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsylvania 1681 This print is respectfully Dedicated to the Citizens of the State of Pennsylvania by the publisher | Painted by Benj. West | Printed and Published by H. R. Robinson, 55 Courtland St. N. York |
No copy located.

95. Lithograph by T. M. Baines, 6 × 9.
No description available.
Friends House, London.

96. Lithograph, hand-colored, 4¼ × 3½.
Illustration from Theodor Dielitz, *Die neue Welt,* Berlin 1858, facing page 228.
Inscription:
Die Gründung von Philadelphia |

Not much resemblance to West painting, except that there is a big tree, and Penn is in a cutaway coat and knee breeches. The Indians have whiskers, guns, and war paint.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

97. Lithograph, 3½ × 6, in the lower left-hand corner of a large picture of Philadelphia in 1702, 20 × 24.

Insert shows Penn's treaty with the Indians.

Inscription:

Penn's Treaty | Philadelphia in 1702 | F. J. Wade Lith. 230 South 5th. St. Phila. | Entered . . . [Library of Congress] 1875 . . . Smith Cremens & Co. |

Picture is in reverse; no ladder; two ships; tents of Indians very conspicuous.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

98. Chromo, colored, 26¼ × 36½.

Printed in reverse, on paper, mounted on cloth, and on a stretcher; condition poor, with several tears; background and all colors dark, but Indians at foot of tree very clear; no rowboats; two ladders, but no figures on them.

Dr. William Ball, West Chester, Pa.

99. Lithograph, black and white, by Schnadel and Finkeldey, 7 × 12.

Inscription:

Lith. of Schnabel & Finkeldey No. 218 Walnut Str. Philadelphia. | William Penn's Treaty with the Indians. | Published by William Smith 702 South Third Street, Philadelphia. |

Reversed; no rowboat; no figures on second ladder; extra child's face at extreme left; cloth of Indian mother broadly striped; no cloud effects; foreground light as though flooded with water.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; New York Public Library; Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

100. Lithograph (?), 3¼ × 4$\frac{15}{16}$.

Inscription:

Treaty Tree |

Reversed; torn from a book.

A poor reproduction of the West painting, with many changes. The one big tree is almost bare. Penn has only five companions and there are only five Indians. There is no sign of the mother and children.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

101. Lithograph, 4½ × 6¾.

Inscription:

Darley Bollett Sc | Penn's Treaty with the Indians. |

Reversed. At first glance this scarcely resembles the West painting at all, but the house and ladder are familiar objects, as well as the river and one sailing vessel, and Penn and his three companions.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

102. Lithograph, Bowen and Company, on sheet 10¾ × 14½.

Inscription:

Max Rosenthal Del. | Bowen's Series of Historical Sketches. No. 1 | Bowen & Co. lith. Philada. |

Reversed. The center of the sheet carries a small copy of The Peace Treaty, and is surrounded by five other pictures connected with William Penn. Yellow wash over the black printing.

Bowen was a prominent lithographer in Philadelphia and New York about 1840.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa.; Kennedy & Co., New York, has copy in plain black and white.

103. Lithograph: same pictures as above, five surrounding a sixth, and same finish.

Inscription:

The Carriers of THE PRESS to their patrons | January 1, 1864 | Bowen and Co. Lith. Phila. |

Free Library of Philadelphia, Print Department; Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

104. Lithograph, 6 × 8½, on sheet 17 × 13.

Inscription:

Lith. by Ed. Weber & Co. Baltimore |

Below picture is a facsimile of the message from William Penn to his colonists in Pennsylvania, with his signature. Below the facsimile is a seal. Picture is reversed; it is a fair imitation of the West painting, but with various minor changes.

Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore, Pa., 3 copies.

105. Lithograph, Schnabel, Finkeldey, & Demmes, 6⅞ × 10.

Inscription:

Schnabel, Finkeldey, & Demmes, Lithog. Institute, Phila. | B. West P.R.A. | PANORAMA OF PHILADELPHIA | William Penn's Peace Treaty with the Indians Entered according to act of Congress in the year of 1856 by Schnabel, Finkeldey & Demmes in the clerk's office of the District Court of Penna. |

Black with tint of yellow; reversed.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

106. Chromolithograph, with additional coloring, 23¾ × 29½, autographed in pencil: Albert Rosenthal 1882.

Inscription:

Published by J. Hoover 450 & 452 N. 13th Street Phila | [Pe]nns Treaty. After the original by Benjamin West. In The National Museum of Philadelphia. |

Trees and Indian mother and child on right.

Kennedy & Co., New York.

108. Lithograph, 13¾ × 19½.

Inscription:

WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. |

Reversed; various small changes in the picture, noticeably four mountain peaks back of the sailing ships. The trees spread over most of the background. There are no canoes; no date stone on the central house; no figures on the two ladders. There is no embroidery on the Indian mother's robe; an Indian standing near her is missing; the pipe of peace is smoking; some of the chests resemble tables.—A very pleasing picture, but without identification of artist.

The Odd Shop, 1721 Chestnut Street, Phila.

LIST OF ENGRAVERS

WHO HAVE COPIED THE WEST PEACE-TREATY PAINTING

IN EACH CASE the signature under the picture is used. Sometimes it is impossible to tell whether the name means the engraver or the publisher. Dates given are on the print, or, in the case of book illustrations, may mean the date of publication.

Alpigini: Lambert Alpigini, Philadelphia, 1913, engraved a small vignette (not signed) for E. A. Wright Co., printed for Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co.
S. Allen: England?
Banister, *or* J. Bannister: James Bannister, born in England, well known bank-note engraver of New York.
Bradshaw & Blacklock: England; working 1849.
D*: France?
H. Dawe: mezzotint, 1832; London, b. 1790, d. 1848.
W. French: England?
C. Gallina: aquatint; Italy, about 1825?
T. E. Grave: before 1800?
H. B. Hall: Henry Bryan Hall I, b. 1808, d. 1884. London, New York.
John Hall, 1775: England, b. 1739, d. 1797.
Selmar Hess: New York; probably a print publisher about 1860.
Illman & Sons: Philadelphia, 1857.
F. Lardy: before 1800?

J. Madden: England?
I. W. Moore: Isaac W. Moore, Philadelphia; mostly historical plates, 1831-33, for Philadelphia periodicals.
Murray: George Murray, b. in Scotland, d. in Philadelphia 1822.
R. A. Muller: Philadelphia, 1882.
Nosworthy & Lewis: London, about 1850.
O. Pelton: Oliver Pelton, b. 1798, d. 1882, Conn.
Perkins & Heath: Jacob Perkins, b. 1766 in Mass., d. 1849 in London; perfected steel plates for engraving.
de la Rue: France before 1800?
Albert Rosenthal: Philadelphia, b. 1863.
J. Rogers
J. Sartain: John Sartain, b. 1808 in London, d. 1897 in Philadelphia; mezzotints.
A. Sasso: 1823.
G. G. Smith: George Girdler Smith, b. in Mass. about 1800, d. in Boston 1858.
J. & F. Tallis: England.
G. Stodart: England, about 1835?
Villerey, 1780: France?
Unknown: engraving 3¾ × 1½.
Unknown: engraving 4 × 6, inscription in Italian; about 1800?
Unknown: engraving 1½ × 2½.
Unknown: engraving 4¾ × 7¼, mounted in an extra illustrated edition of John Galt, *The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West, Esq.*, London and Edinburgh 1820.
Unknown: engraving 3⅝ × 3⅝, "Engraved for Minor's pocketbook."
Unknown: engraving 3½ × 5, Edinburgh 1828.
Unknown: engraving 3 × 2½, New York 1833.
Unknown: engraving 2⅛ × 2⅛, Philadelphia 1839.
Unknown: engraving 3¼ × 4¼, Philadelphia 1849.
Unknown: engraving 3⅜ × 4⅝, 1850.
Unknown: engraving 2⅝ × 4, Philadelphia 1854.
Unknown: engraving, 1871, on Universal Peace Union membership blanks.
Unknown: engraving 11 × 15, advertised 1875 in *Wayside,* Wilmington, Del.
Unknown: engraving 2¼ × 3, Mexico, 1879.
Unknown: engraving 3⅞ × 5⅜, Reading, Pa., 1882.
Unknown: engraving 3¾ × 5¾.
Unknown: engraving 4¾ × 3⅜.

LIST OF LITHOGRAPHERS

WHO HAVE COPIED THE PENN PEACE-TREATY PAINTING

Arranged alphabetically, with name exactly as found on the print, together with date if given

Baillie: James S. Baillie, New York; artist, colorer, lithographer, working 1838-1855.
Bowen & Co.: John T. Bowen & Company, Philadelphia, best known for their *Series of Historical Sketches;* working 1834-1844.
T. M. Baines: England, working 1822.
N. Currier: Nathaniel Currier, b. 1813, d. 1888; also a brother Charles, b. 1818, d. 1887; and partner James M. Ives, b. 1824, d. 1895, working mostly from New York; known pictures total 4288.

Darley: Felix Octavious Carr Darley, Philadelphia, b. 1822, d. 1888, noted for his illustrations.
Thomas Fairland: 1835, England.
Kellogg & Thayer: Hartford, New York, and Buffalo, working 1846-1847.
Joseph Meyers
Albert Rosenthal: 1882, Philadelphia; b. 1863.
Max Rosenthal: 1864; father of Albert, b. 1833 in Poland, d. 1918 in Philadelphia.
H. R. Robinson: Henry R. Robinson, New York, working 1833-1851.
N. Sarony: b. 1821, d. 1896; New York and England, working in New York 1840-1868.
Schnabel & Finkeldey: Philadelphia, about 1856.
Wade Lithograph Co.: F. J. Wade, Philadelphia, best known for *Twenty Views of Philadelphia,* about 1875.
Ed. Weber & Co.: Edward Weber, Baltimore, working 1835-1854.
Unknown: lithograph 4¼ × 3½: Germany.
Unknown: lithograph 13¾ × 19½.

IT IS NOT to be expected that completeness can be achieved in a first attempt to list the various forms in which a popular picture like West's painting of Penn's Treaty with the Indians has been reproduced. It is probable that the list as presented will stimulate renewed interest in the subject, and many additional prints or reproductions in other form will be brought to light.

The Editor would be glad if those who know about reproductions not noted in the preceding article would so inform him. If enough new material accumulates from such communications, a supplement to the article may be published at a later date. Address

The Editor
Bulletin of Friends Historical Association
226 Dickinson Avenue
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

REPRODUCTIONS OF WEST'S PAINTING OF WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

The numbers at the left refer to the numbered list of paintings, engravings, lithographs, etc., on page 138-164 preceding.

For reproduction of the original painting, now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, see frontispiece.

		PAGE
No. 2.	Small replica, by West, of original painting	168
No. 35.	Boydell-Hall engraving	169
No. 5.	Oil painting, formerly owned by Mr. Poultney of Baltimore	170
No. 7.	Oil painting by Edward Savage	171
No. 9.	Oil painting, owned by Mr. Wallace of Philadelphia	172
No. 10.	Oil painting by Edward Hicks	173
No. 108.	Lithograph showing the New Jersey mountains	174
No. 88.	Lithograph published by Baillie	175
No. 92.	Lithograph published by Currier	176
No. 96.	Lithograph from Dielitz, *Die neue Welt*	177
No. 40.	Engraving by D*	178
No. 41.	Aquatint by Gallina	179
No. 36.	Engraving by Villerey	180
No. 38.	Engraving by de la Rue	181
No. 39.	Engraving by Grave	
No. 23.	Candle Screen	182
No. 26.	Iron Plate	
No. 20.	China made by Thomas Green	183
No. 14.	Linen Design No. 1	184
No. 19.	Linen Design No. 2	185
No. 34.	Banknote issued by the General Bank, Exeter	186
No. 84.	Heading of policy of Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company	
No. 43.	Line engraving for William Penn Medal	
No. 80.	Engraving for the Ledger Carriers' Annual Greeting	187
No. 30.	Letterhead of Norristown-Penn Trust Company	188
No. 29.	Letterhead of Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania	
No. 28.	Postcard celebrating Penn bicentennial	
No. 103.	Lithograph: The Carriers of the Press to their Patrons	189

No. 2. Small replica, by West, of original painting

No. 35

Engraving by John Hall

No. 5 Oil painting, formerly owned by Mr. Poultney of Baltimore

No. 7 Oil painting by Edward Savage

No. 9 Oil painting, owned by Mr. Wallace of Philadelphia

No. 10 Oil painting by Edward Hicks

No. 108 Lithograph showing the New Jersey mountains

No. 88 Lithograph published by Baillie

WPENN'S TREATY with the INDIANS when he found the PROVINCE of PENNSYLVANIA 1681.

No. 92

Lithograph published by Currier

No. 96 Lithograph from Dielitz,
Die neue Welt

GUILLAUME PENN TRAITE AVEC LES INDIENS

Pensylvanie dans l'Amerique Septentrionale en 1681.

No. 40

Engraving by D*

Page 178

No. 41 Aquatint by Gallina

J.e M. Moreau le jeune Del. 1780. (Villerey Sculp.

Penn achette des Sauvages le pays qu'il veut occuper:

Liv XVIII

No. 36

Engraving by Villerey

Page 180

No. 38 Engraving by de la Rue

No. 39 Engraving by Grave

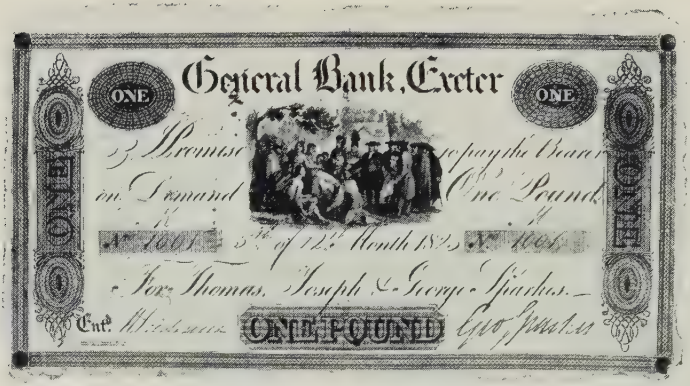
No. 23 Candle Screen

No. 26 Iron Plate

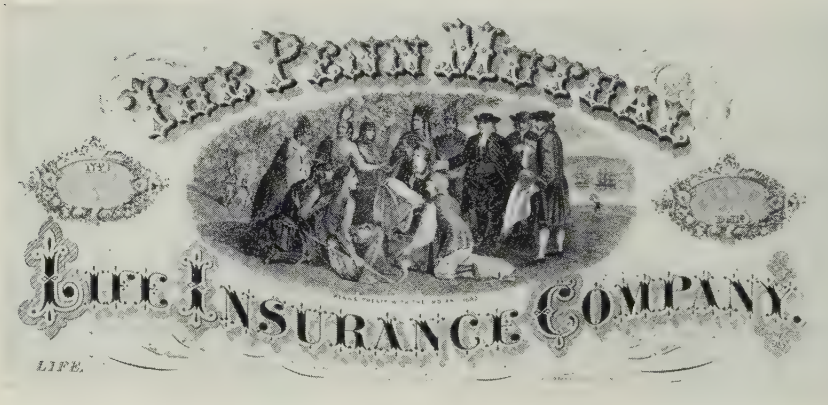
No. 20 China made by Thomas Green

No. 14 Linen Design No. 1

No. 19 Linen Design No. 2



No. 34 Banknote issued by the General Bank, Exeter



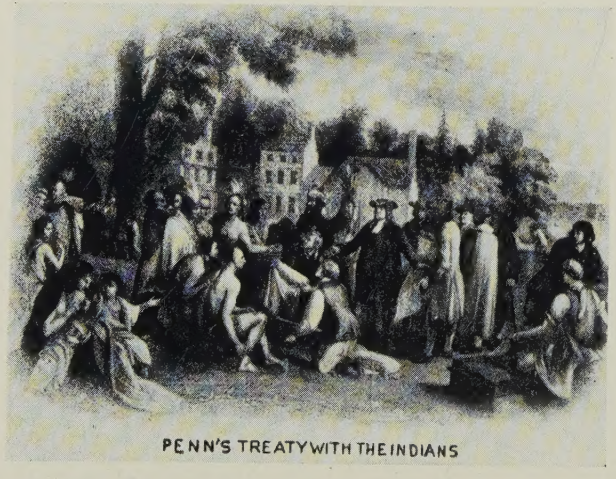
No. 84 Heading of policy of Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company

No. 43 Line engraving for William Penn Medal

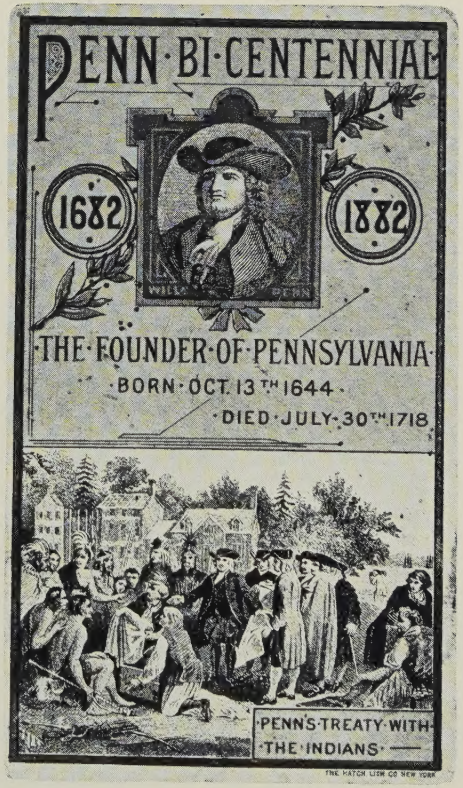
WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.
THE LEDGER CARRIER'S ANNUAL GREETING
TO THEIR SUBSCRIBERS, NEW YEAR, 1857.
How beautiful the scene portrayed above.
A treaty, framed in Justice, Truth and love!
Our City's Founder and the peaceful "Friends"
Stoop to no subterfuge, to gain their ends.
While with unswerving confidence, around
Their Indian brethren occupy the ground
This incident, a maxim may afford
And prove that "PENN was mightier than the sword"

No. 80 Engraving for the Ledger Carriers' Annual Greeting

No. 30 Letterhead of Norristown-Penn Trust Company



No. 29 Letterhead of Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania



No. 28 Postcard celebrating Penn bicentennial

THE CARRIERS OF THE PRESS TO THEIR PATRONS.
RELIQUES OF WILLIAM PENN
IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1864.
PENN'S MANOR WITH CHERRY TREE PLANTED BY WILLIAM PENN.
JANUARY 1ST 1864.

No. 103 Lithograph: The Carriers of the Press to their Patrons